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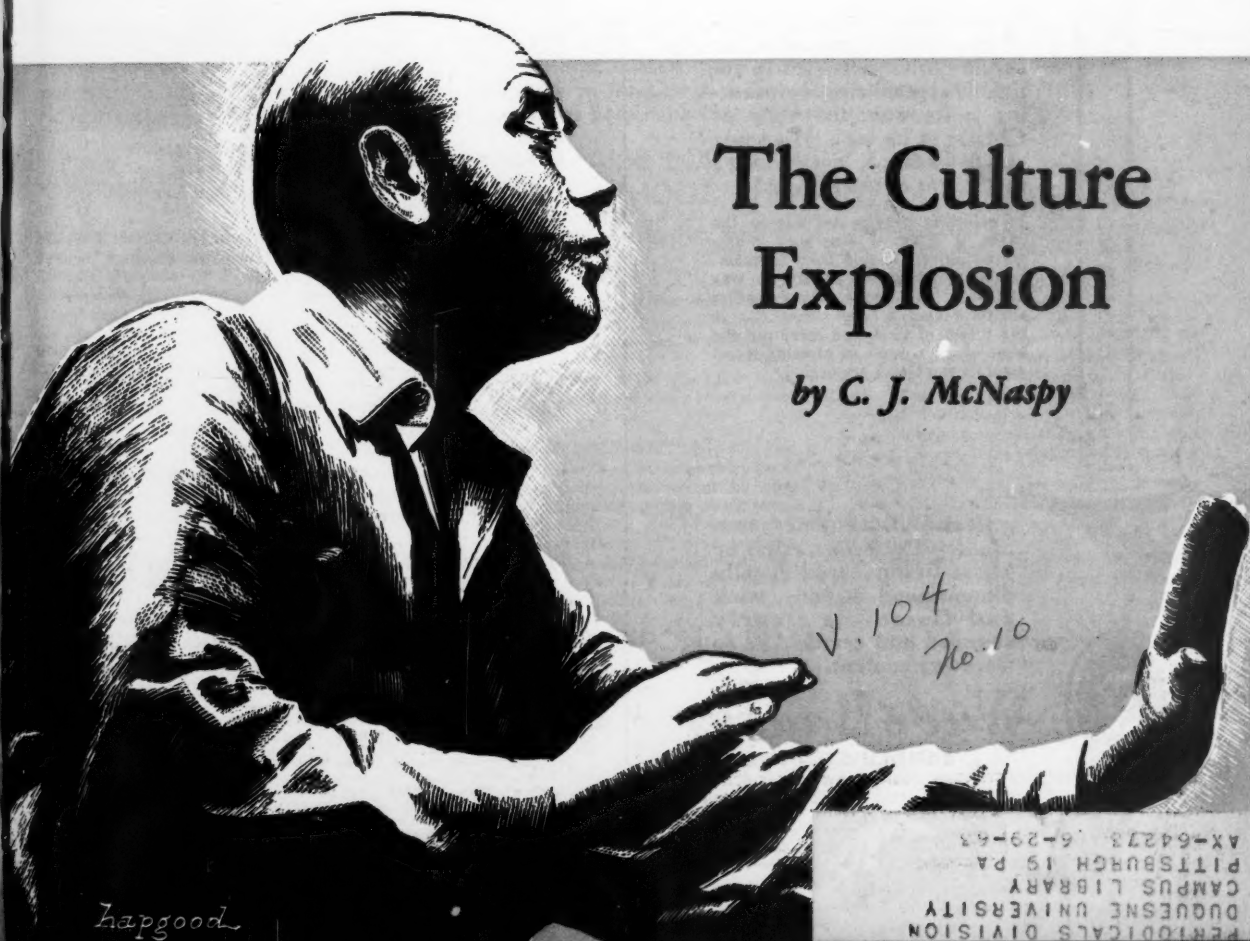
# America

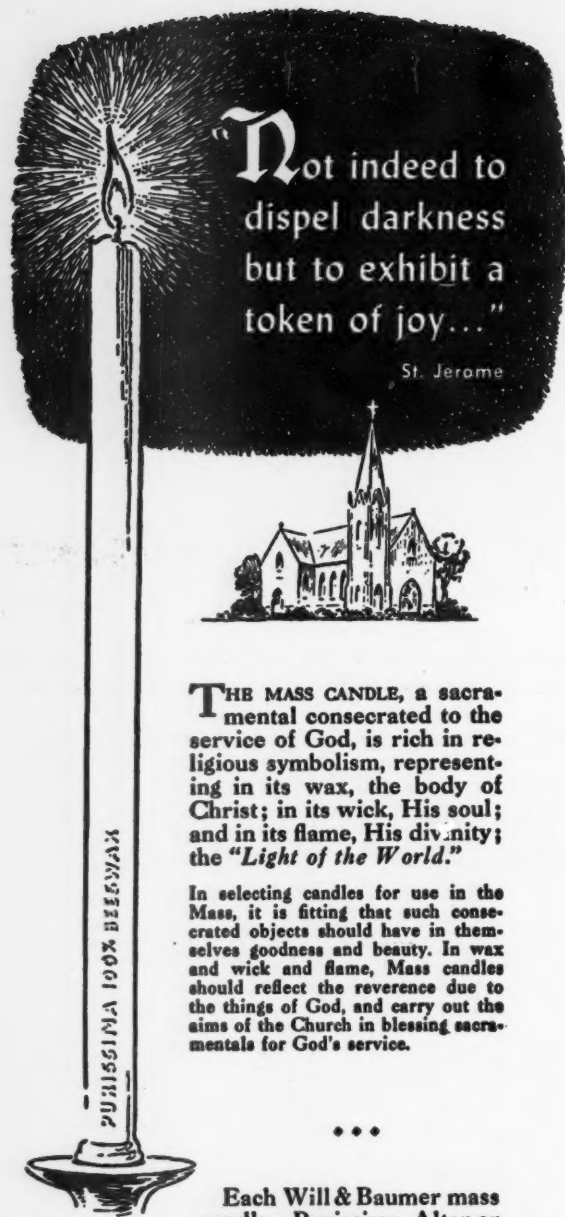
## China's Ant-Hill Society

*by Paul K. T. Sib*

## The Culture Explosion

*by C. J. McNaspy*





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# America

*National Catholic Weekly Review*

Vol. 104 No. 10 December 3, 1960 Whole Number 2687

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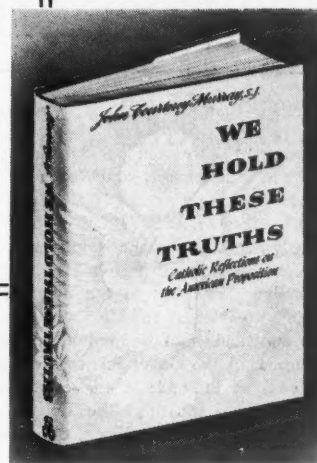
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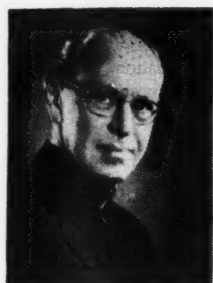
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American situation, the Western situation, the Christian situation. . . . A masterpiece of candid and lucid exposition."

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# Correspondence

## Apology to Macao

EDITOR: A correspondent in Macao has written in a friendly way to protest the statement in my article "Cold War Seen From Macao" (AM. 7/30/60) that "the Portuguese Government is interested only in the education of Portuguese; it doesn't contribute anything to the education of Chinese children. . . ." He assures me that the statement is false and offers several examples of the Government's help, direct as well as indirect, in the education of Chinese. He mentions the Luso-Chinese School, Sir Robert Ho Tung, the Immaculate Conception Orphanage of the Salesians, the Casa de Beneficencia conducted by the Canossian Sisters. (He writes that he could have named a number of other schools and institutions.) He notes also that the Government generously subsidizes the educational efforts of the Catholic Church, which brings innumerable benefits to many Chinese children.

Accordingly I hasten to offer my apologies to the public authorities in Macao. I regret any embarrassment my statement, which arose from a misunderstanding, may have caused them.

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

New York, N.Y.

## Worth Hearing

EDITOR: I came late to the Nov. 5 issue and am only now immersed in it. But I feel

compelled to put it aside to thank you for the superb article by Glenn Tinder on "The Campaign and the Plight of Modern Society." This reflects the sturdy, enlightened thinking one often looks for in vain. So much of the noise and shouting of the campaign seems so superficial in light of Prof. Tinder's clear thinking. Voices like his should be heard throughout the land now. More power to you for giving him a platform.

P. M. McNAMARA, O.S.M.  
Milwaukee, Wisc.

## Sacrifice for All

EDITOR: I enjoyed very much "Sacrifice in the 1960's" (10/29) by Robert T. Reilly. The examples taken from family life were realistic. But he should have given examples of sacrifice from other occupations. The article started by referring to "most people," but ended up hitting the family mighty hard.

EUGENE J. MEINERS  
College of Our Lady of the Ozarks  
Carthage, Mo.

## Situation Less Desperate

EDITOR: Howard Penniman's Washington Front on "Need for African Specialists" (10/22) falls wide of the mark. Is the language problem really "fantastic"? Agreed, there are 800 languages, but why leave out the fact that "in most places the local lan-

guage is used in the first few grades of school, after which all teaching is in English or French," as *The New York Times* reported on October 24?

Regarding the training of Americans as African specialists, your correspondent might well consider the recent study on the actual and projected future need for specialists, prepared under the direction of President de Kiewiet of the University of Rochester.

RAYMOND J. SMYKE

Washington, D.C.

## Foreign Prospect

EDITOR: I read with interest the recent exchange of letters (10/1, 10/22, 10/29, and 11/19) on scholarships by Catholic colleges for foreign students. We have a Japanese exchange student, Joseph Ishii, staying at our home and attending our local St. Francis High School. He is a graduate of a Japanese high school, 20 years old, a Catholic, and very interested in obtaining an American college education. Joseph is an extremely intelligent and accomplished person and, I feel certain, would be scholarship material.

Will those educational institutions who can render this worthy student some assistance write me? I would like to see Joseph attend a Catholic institution if at all possible.

STUART D. HUBBELL

122 W. State St.  
Traverse City, Mich.

## Interest Abroad

EDITOR: I had just written to say that I had not yet received your Review despite my recent subscription. Then the first numbers arrived. I found them very interesting and I want to express special thanks for the article on Puerto Rico by Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J. (9/3).

Here in Brazil so many "people who have great suffering to endure" also turn to other religions. And we seem to consider it all their fault. But after reading Fr. Fitzpatrick's "Puerto Rican Story," I begin to see it from another point of view.

OLGA EKMEN SIMOES

São Paulo, Brazil

## Not Intended

EDITOR: Anent "A Tradition Still Stands" (11/5, p. 163): Does the fact that Juniper B. Carol is a priest deny him his American right to free speech?

MRS. JOSEPH J. DOMAS

New City, N.Y.

[We didn't, don't, and never even raised the question.—ED.]

America • DECEMBER 3, 1960

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# Current Comment

## Cold War in Africa

After weeks of bitter debate in the UN General Assembly, Congolese President Joseph Kasavubu finally accomplished his objective in coming to New York. On Nov. 22, by a vote of 53 to 24, the Assembly at last recognized him, rather than Patrice Lumumba, as the head of the Republic of the Congo. Thus, the UN has now succeeded in establishing firm authority there.

The fate of the Congo itself has depended on the outcome of this struggle for representation in the UN. Had Mr. Lumumba won out, he would have regained control of this unhappy country. In that case, the Congo would undoubtedly have veered far to the left. Through the instrumentality of a Lumumba regime, the Soviet Union would have been able to secure its first really firm foothold on the African continent. President Kasavubu, on the other hand, is a moderate with pro-Western leanings. His success or failure, therefore, meant life or death for the new nation—depending on whether one views things from one side of the Iron Curtain or the other.

Significantly, the Lumumba faction found enthusiastic support in Ghana and Guinea, countries which, if they are not tied to the Soviet bloc, are giving a fair imitation of being so. Eleven other nations, members of the French community and pro-Western in outlook, favored President Kasavubu.

Thus, whether the parties immediately concerned would admit it or not, this struggle for domination of the Congo plunged Africa up to its neck in the Cold War. The future of the continent may well have been at stake.

## De Gaulle's Rubicon

Undaunted by the bitterness of the opposition to his Algerian policy, President de Gaulle announced on Nov. 16 that he would go to the French people to seek their approval of his plans for an "Algerian Algeria." In a referendum to be held in early 1961, Frenchmen will vote on a draft law "relative to the

organization of the public powers in Algeria while awaiting self-determination."

The draft law would set up provisional executive and legislative bodies on a regional basis, topped by a high commission for Algeria. These bodies would reflect the numerical strength of the various ethnic groups in Algeria—the nine million Arabs and Berbers and the one million Europeans. The proclamation of a "unilateral cease-fire" would presumably enable such an administration to begin negotiations with the rebels.

President de Gaulle's decision to go again to the people has been hailed in France as a "crossing of the Rubicon." The French leader still faces considerable opposition from the rebels, the French right and possibly the army. Nevertheless, his move was a shrewd one. If the advocates of a French Algeria are going to act, they must act now before the de Gaulle program receives the massive backing it is expected to get in metropolitan France. Most Frenchmen are fed up with the bloody conflict in Algeria and would like to see it ended on no matter what terms. If the problem is to be solved in de Gaulle's way, the next few weeks will be decisive.

## Caribbean Jitters

Fidel Castro, who boasts that his revolution will extend as far as the Andes, is taking steps to export it. Since July he has bought 28,000 tons of assorted arms from the USSR, and his army is now ten times the size of ex-President Batista's, twenty-five times the size of the victorious 26th of July armies.

To keep those weapons and Castro's "volunteers" out of their countries, Nicaragua and Guatemala, both of which were engaged in revolutions during the past two weeks, asked for U.S. help in mid-November. On Nov. 16, therefore, President Eisenhower set up a U.S. naval patrol off the shores of those countries. Cuba and the Red press around the world naturally gave off wounded cries of "imperialist interven-

tion." (As a matter of fact, since the issue was one that affected the whole hemisphere, why hadn't this country consulted with the Organization of American States?)

President Eisenhower will be happy, understandably, if nothing more happens before Jan. 20, when he leaves office. Then President-elect Kennedy will have to find the long-range answer to this creeping "fidelismo." Force alone won't do. Although Castro is appealing to the genuine aspirations of millions of Latin Americans, revolution under Communist leadership would bring a solution that neither we nor even the Latin Americans would like.

The task facing this country is twofold: to facilitate social reform down there, even if it means putting a little pressure on some of the reactionary regimes, and to keep down the brushfires of revolution so that those reforms can be carried out.

Will Mr. Kennedy have the imagination and the statesmanship to accomplish those tasks? We hope and pray that he will.

## "... and Cardinal Mindszenty?"

A French journalist visiting Budapest in October put the inevitable question about Cardinal Mindszenty's position in today's Hungary. The answer was a shrug of pretended indifference: "This drama is ended for us. The Cardinal lives with the Americans, in their legation. It is a problem that exists only for those in the West."

Adapting an old diplomat's comment about those who try to ignore real problems, we say: "The Hungarian Reds are right when they say there is no Mindszenty problem; but they'd be wrong if they really believed what they say." The Mindszenty story, typical example of the workings of Stalinism at its worst, still haunts the present rulers of enslaved Hungary. Four years after the fateful Nov. 4, 1956, on which the ex-prisoner of the Reds sought and received asylum at the U.S. legation, the Communists are still nervous. The secret police, in three automobiles, maintain a 24-hour guard over the legation. This attention to one whom Premier Janos Kadar calls "an old priest" hardly reflects indifference.

The *Reporter*, biweekly magazine edited by Max Ascoli, published in its Nov.

24 issue a pair of articles under the heading "Remember Hungary." The second article, datelined Budapest, was contributed by Daniel Schorr and notes the fourth anniversary of Mindszenty's asylum. From this account it is clear that our continuing hospitality to a man hated and feared by the Hungarian Communists entails risks and responsibilities. All Americans who read the article, however, will be proud that one of the most illustrious victims of the Red terror is today sheltered by the American eagle within the very sight of the butchers of Budapest.

### Futility in Laos

"If you can't lick 'em, join 'em." That seems to be the philosophy on which Premier Souvanna Phouma is running the Laotian Government. The prince, who has been in and out of power several times in the past few years, announced on Nov. 20 the conclusion of an agreement with the Communist-led Pathet Lao. In an effort to end the country's six-year-old civil war, the Premier would bring the Communists into the Government. Unfortunately, this move has been tried before in Laos with almost disastrous consequences.

Undoubtedly the trend toward compromise in Laos marks a defeat for U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. But, as long as "neutralist" Souvanna Phouma persists on his present course, it will be difficult to turn the tide in our favor.

We tried to turn that tide two months ago when we suddenly cut off our aid program in Laos. State Department emissary Graham Parsons then sought to convince Souvanna Phouma of the dangers of bringing Communists into the Government. The Premier let it be known that he would turn to the Soviet Union to fill the gap in U.S. financial aid. With the sudden appearance on the scene of the first Soviet Ambassador to Laos, our program was restored.

The one hope of reversing the trend lies with the right-wing rebel regime of Gen. Phoumi Nosavan, now in control in the south. (The civil war in Laos is a three-cornered affair.) At the moment, however, the General does not appear strong enough to unseat Souvanna Phouma's neutralist-Communist coalition. Laos is closer to communism than at any time since the end of the Indo-China war in 1954.

### Japanese Elections

The premiership of Hayato Ikeda did not hang in the balance as the Japanese electorate went to the polls on Nov. 20. Had the opposition Socialists snagged all the 186 seats they were seeking, they still would have been unable to muster enough votes in the House of Representatives to topple the Ikeda Government.

On trial, however, was Japan's pro-Western foreign policy. These were the first elections to be held in Japan since left-wing rioters ran wild in the streets of Tokyo last spring, forcing the cancellation of President Eisenhower's projected trip to the Nipponese capital and the resignation of the then Premier Nobusuke Kishi. The outbreaks were aimed at the U.S.-Japanese security pact, or at least at the manner in which the Kishi Government had ratified the treaty. Premier Ikeda was therefore seeking a new popular endorsement of the close ties every Liberal-Democratic Government has maintained with the United States since World War II.

During the election campaign—marked, incidentally, by TV debates—the pollsters forecast a sweeping Liberal-Democratic victory. Mr. Ikeda wanted a clean three-to-two majority that would raise his party's seats in the House from 283 to 312 as evidence of the new popular mandate.

Final returns proved the pollsters right. Though the Liberal-Democrats won only 296 seats, their victory was decisive. The Socialist bid for power fell far short of left-wing hopes. Once again the Japanese electorate has said No to neutralism.

### Birth Control Debate

On NB's new program, "The Nation's Future," British scientist Sir Julian Huxley and Belgian Jacques Mertens de Wilmars, chairman of the UN Population Commission, held a debate before a nation-wide audience on Nov. 19. The topic: "Resolved, that international birth control is necessary to prevent disaster." Despite wide pre-event publicity, press coverage afterwards was remarkably skimpy.

The reason for this was perhaps the fact that the debate never really got off the ground. Mr. Mertens, defending the negative, simply took the wind out of Sir Julian's affirmative sails by deny-

ing that there is any "disaster" today because of overpopulation, and asserting that there will be no disaster in the foreseeable future. He readily admitted that some areas are now overcrowded (India got most frequent mention), but maintained that technological and economic advances, international cooperation, migration and other means are sufficient to solve the problem.

Most evident throughout the debate was the inherent defeatism of the birth-control stand. To Mr. Mertens' assertion, for instance, that the most effective way to prevent a population explosion is to educate for "responsible parenthood," Sir Julian categorically replied that he simply did not believe people to be capable of such education. Besides, there is always the veiled threat of coercion lurking behind statements of those who speak for the international birth control program.

### Religion in America

"The tone is optimistic, much more optimistic than would have been anticipated several decades ago." Thus sociologist Richard D. Lambert, assistant editor of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, characterizes 13 reports by contributors to that journal's November issue on "Religion in American Society."

To be sure, more than one writer shows uneasiness over "the organizational form and the quality of religious observance" he has encountered. But the over-all conclusion stands: "The decline in support for religion among the populace and the intelligentsia . . . has been reversed during the years since World War II."

In part, this optimistic finding rests on basic religious statistics. Take, for instance, the variation in church membership over the past fifty years. The record for 1910 shows that 55 per cent of the population aged 13 and over claimed church affiliation. The figure dropped to 50.7 per cent by 1940, but rose to a high of 63.7 per cent in 1950. All signs point to a continuing increase since then.

Other indices of American religious vitality yield less satisfaction. It is true that intellectuals now find themselves more at home in the churches. Yet much of the current revival of popular interest seems linked to "pious utilitarian-



## AN EGYPTIAN BEST-SELLER, 3000 B. C.

Don't reach for your Rosetta Stone. We don't know exactly what this says, either, except that it evidently had an unhappy ending. But we are sure that the ancient Egyptians knew the value of fine writing and treasured it for what it was worth. Today, really good literature, especially fine Catholic literature, is treasured by people who know their reading. We don't mean printed pabulum or collections of pious admonitions, but solid, thought-provoking books of lasting value to thinking Catholics.

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ism." In other words, the appeal for many lies in "the peace of mind cults, the contentless faith in faith, the bland conformity in the upsurge of popular piety."

What of the future? Many signs point to a continuation of these trends: expanding activity on the part of the laity, growing interest in systematic theology, increasing organization and centralization of religious agencies, widening of communication across denominational lines. What religious observers will watch for with greatest interest, however, are new efforts on the part of various religious communities to insure the survival and integrity of their very identity.

### ... Threat of Assimilation

The question of survival naturally concerns all religious bodies. In the past, however, it has had special meaning for the Jewish community. By comparison with other groups arriving on these shores, successive waves of Jewish immigrants manifested a notable desire to enter as full participants into the American cultural arena. What social scientists asked was whether this desire could be sustained without involving the loss of Jewish self-consciousness and the acceptance of total assimilation into the amalgam of togetherness that is secularized Americanism.

Estimates vary on the extent to which such assimilation took place. Now in the latest issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* (November), Prof. Erich Rosenthal points to some forces that have blocked large-scale assimilation among American Jews.

He focuses on an estimated Jewish population of 282,000 living in the Chicago area. Within recent decades great numbers of them have changed residence. Contrary to expectation, however, this mobility has not resulted in a more even distribution over all parts of the city.

What has taken place? The shift has been described principally as one into high-status neighborhoods. But it has also involved a strong tendency to concentrate on the North Side of the city and its suburbs. Because of the voluntary character of this trend, it has not alienated the younger generation as forced segregation might have done. At the same time it is serving, together with

at least a minimum of Jewish education, to maintain a sense of Jewish identity and to forestall total assimilation through increased intermarriage.

Clearly, the older sociological concept of "ghettoization" will not suffice to explain this process. What exists, however, is an interesting social pattern which promises to preserve an ancient religious heritage in the midst of an ever changing culture.

### Collegiate Journalism

Glancing over the collegiate press from the West Coast we recently came across some minor but extremely interesting items.

The University of San Francisco *Foghorn* on Nov. 4 published results of a pre-election poll in which students favored Sen. Kennedy 2-1. Prof. Ashmore Lincoln commented:

"It is certain that the election will be much closer than the poll indicates. It is also very possible that the candidate with the most popular votes will not be the man in the White House in January."

Of course, *anyone* who read the professional pollsters could have made that forecast. But Prof. Lincoln came a lot closer to being right in his pre-election guess than the editors of this Review. Than most journalists, in fact.

From the Loyola University (Los Angeles) *Alumnus* we learn that Hawaii's Gov. William F. Quinn has a "subversive" past. A Loyola professor who taught him as an undergraduate at St. Louis University recalls:

"Quinn was a member of a sort of underground movement designed to overthrow, by force of personality, the established order of academic complacency." He also belonged to the Pariah Club, "which happened to discover that practically all their social activities were anti-social. Their chief joy was argument, and their fondest pleasure, insult."

Well, with a background like that we understand why Gov. Quinn, in his talk at Loyola University, advocated "world citizenship," relaxation of our immigration laws and repeal of the Connally Amendment.

But then, one finds these suspect ideas all through the Republican party. At one time or other most of them have been advocated by Messrs. Nixon and Eisenhower.

### Price of Fair Play

Announcement of pending investigations by the Internal Revenue Service and other Federal agencies into improper political activities during the 1960 campaign reminds us of the sad truth that it takes a lot of energy and money to battle underhanded traffickers in bigotry. Big though the task of the public investigators will be, it would be far greater, we suspect, if the non-partisan and privately supported Fair Campaign Practices Committee had not been on the job since the first State primary contest last winter.

Bruce L. Felknor, dedicated executive director of the committee, would be the last to claim excessive credit for the achievements of his understaffed operation. Yet a visit to the FCPC headquarters (45 E. 65th St., New York 21, N.Y.) and a glance at the mounds of hate literature which poured in there from all over the country reveals the superlative dimensions of the committee's contribution to political fair play.

By contrast to the as yet undetermined but clearly astronomical sums spent by smear artists in the past few months, it should be noted that the two paid members of the FCPC staff are both overworked and underpaid. When the committee had gone \$25,000 in the red shortly before Election Day, the staff voluntarily went on half-salary.

Anyone interested in keeping American politics clean owes a big debt to this organization. One highly practical way of meeting this obligation would be to send a donation to the FCPC office at the earliest possible date. Even small sums will help keep the operation going. And, unfortunately for the good name of American electioneering, its useful days seem to be far from over.

### Racial Ups and Downs

The (London) *Times* and *Manchester Guardian* enjoy enormous prestige and influence among African and Asian leaders. Accordingly, their considerable stress on the New Orleans integration crisis points up its grim relevance to the world at large, and especially to the neutralist and uncommitted blocs.

Happily, we may call attention to two rather heartening reports that appeared last week. *The Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States* (Washing-



ton 25, D.C., no charge), published by the Department of Labor, shows the striking progress toward economic and social justice and equality made by American Negroes in recent years.

Their wage average, for example, has risen in the past twenty years from 41 to 58 per cent of the average for white workers; their life expectancy and years of formal education have, during the same time, increased twice as fast as among whites; there are now twice as many Negroes in the professions and in skilled work as there were twenty years ago. This improvement, while still too little and affording no grounds for smugness, is steady and noteworthy.

Just as meaningful, if less palpable, is another new report marking a change for the better. The Southern Regional Council's document, *Racial Violence and Law Enforcement*, shows an impressive reversal of roles among Southern policemen. While "the police were assumed to be an arm of the white race to keep the Negroes in their place," they have increasingly learned to defend non-violent Negroes against white mobs. It was gratifying to observe the serious efforts at fairness shown by the New Orleans police during those recent shocking outbreaks. Did the foreign press take note?

### Fearless Fornication

Biology Professor Leo F. Koch is again encountering limits to his academic freedom. Last April Dr. Koch was dismissed from the University of Illinois when he wrote a letter to the student newspaper proclaiming that, with contraceptives readily available, "there is no valid reason why sexual intercourse should not be condoned" for the unmarried, provided that they are "sufficiently mature to engage in it without social consequences and without violating their own codes of morality and ethics."

Recently Dr. Koch turned up in New York City, where he had been invited to speak at local colleges. On Nov. 14 he spoke at New York University on academic freedom. But authorities at Hunter, a tax-supported city college, refused to allow him to address a student club on American sexual mores.

Dr. Koch and friends see the issue as one of academic freedom. Hunter officials themselves evidently feel uneasy

about their decision and have lamely explained that the topic was not within the scope of the student club's chartered purpose.

We fail to see why Hunter College cannot come right out and say, as did the president of the University of Illinois, that Dr. Koch's views "are offensive and repugnant, contrary to commonly accepted standards of morality, and their public espousal may be interpreted as encouragement of immoral behavior."

Before liberals rush to the defense of Dr. Koch's right to speak to college students, they might pause to reflect that it is just this sort of thing that makes liberalism contemptible in the minds of millions. Academic freedom is not well served by identifying it with the advocacy of fearless fornication.

### . . . and Book Burning

The West German Government's Censorship Board has classified as "dangerous to youth" a book by the most decorated veteran of the Nazi armed forces.

According to Associated Press, the book, *Of War and Peace*, calls World War II a holy war. It glorifies the Hitler regime. It dismisses Nazi atrocities as mistakes that occurred in the heat of battle.

The Censorship Board called the work a "hate and propaganda book against the present democratic order," and banned its sale to young people.

This action by the Censorship Board is what liberals call "book burning." Good liberals, we presume, will condemn it at least as heartily as they denounce Hunter College's refusal to allow Dr. Koch to speak to students.

As liberals of quite another stripe, we cannot respond so passionately to the banning of a book. It is true that Government prohibition of the sale of books is dangerous to liberty. But Germany has good reason to believe that totalitarian propaganda also creates a danger to liberty and to human dignity.

Two questions for liberals come to our mind in connection with this incident. Are there any standards of humanity and decency so fundamental that they may be protected even against the printed word? And would liberty on the whole have suffered if Nazi propaganda had been suppressed before 1933?

### Making Religion Matter

Rarely do time, occasion and the man meet in such perfect harmony. The time, Nov. 15, came within a week after the recent election and all that it had meant as a potential threat to religious peace and civic unity. The occasion was the inauguration of the Morgenstern Award Lecture series on interreligious matters at the 32nd annual meeting, in New York, of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Dr. John C. Bennett, dean of the faculty at Union Theological Seminary and the award lecturer, more than met the demands of both time and occasion.

Never in American history had religious matters received more intense discussion than during the past campaign. Yet, as Dr. Bennett noted, "sometimes the impression has been created that religion is irrelevant to public life."

Improper and unwise political pronouncements by clerics had rightly drawn criticism from all sides. Such criticism, however, need not imply rejection of "any interference in a particular election by religious leaders or religious bodies" as something "wrong in principle and incompatible with democracy." Who can rightly deny that the churches should be "on the alert to warn against any political movement or party that is dedicated to anti-Semitism, to white supremacy, to totalitarianism of the left or the right, or to an aggressive militaristic policy?"

Despite the best efforts of the church authorities, an official could meet up with an irreconcilable conflict between his religion and his public responsibilities. Such a prospect may be quite remote in this country. But indeed, as Dr. Bennett stressed, "it is part of the business of the churches to keep the possibility . . . alive." Only in this way can we be sure that religion is making a difference in our national life.

### Katharine Byrne . . .

On occasions over the past five years AMERICA has brought its readers the inimitable observations of a Chicago writer named KATHARINE M. BYRNE. Next week, after a long absence, she returns to these pages with an article on teen-agers.

# Washington Front

## Election Postscript

REQUESTS FROM Senators and Representatives to the Legislative Reference Service these days reflect their interest in a reform of the electoral system—an interest aroused by an awareness of the grotesque possibilities all too narrowly avoided in the last election.

Fortunately, this year, the slim popular vote margin produced a slim but adequate electoral majority. For a time, however, it seemed possible that a few uncommitted electors from Mississippi and Alabama might be in a position to control the naming of the President. If these electors had refused to endorse either major party candidate, the confusion would have been transferred to the House of Representatives, which would have had to choose a winner from the two major candidates and whoever was supported by the unpledged electors.

A quick look at the situation in the House of Representatives suggests that selecting a President there might not have been easy. Each State delegation in Congress would immediately have become as powerful as every other delegation. Alaska's one Member representing 60,000 voters would have matched the authority of New York's 43 Congressmen representing 16 million voters. Ten States carried by Nixon have a majority of Democrats in their delegations to the House. Four States carried by Kennedy have a majority of Republican rep-

resentatives. Nothing would have prevented these 14 States from casting votes contrary to the popular majorities at home. Four States, all carried by Nixon, sent evenly divided delegations to Congress. These States might have cast no ballots, thus reducing the number of possible votes from 50 to 46, from which someone would have had to gain 26. It is probable that Southern States would again have controlled the balance of power. The wrangling and compromise that would have preceded final selection would not have provided an auspicious start for a new Administration.

After this year's near miss it is no wonder that Congressmen talk of changing electoral procedures. Still, it is unlikely that a constitutional amendment can be proposed and adopted to modify the system. Too many special interests have a stake in existing arrangements. Big States wish to retain their powerful strategic position at national conventions and in campaigns. Some minorities in the big States believe they can gain better promises from the major parties if their votes might provide a margin of victory in those States. Many Southern leaders believe the present electoral provisions protect the power of the States.

For the indefinite future we may have to depend on the good will and integrity of the competing candidates to preserve us from disorder if the electoral college or Congress should fail to provide a President clearly supported by the people. A powerful case can be made that the nation should change its Constitution so as to lift this unnecessary and possibly dangerous burden from the parties and the candidates. **HOWARD PENNIMAN**

## On All Horizons

"ALL CATHOLIC BOOKS." The first number of the *Catholic Book Reporter*, a bimonthly magazine presenting short, factual reviews of Catholic-interest books, is now on the market. Complete coverage of the Catholic book-publishing field is the aim of the editors. An easy-order aid is a special feature of the magazine (Penn Terminal Bldg., 370 7th Ave., New York 1, N.Y. \$4 yearly).

►BOOK PRIZE. The editors of *Spiritual Life*, quarterly review published by the Discalced Carmelites (1233 S. 45th St., Milwaukee 14, Wis.), have announced the creation of an award to be given to the American publisher and author of the work judged the best spiritual book brought out in 1961.

►NEWMAN'S LATIN. The journal *Classical Folia* (formerly *Folia*) announces that a future issue will pub-

lish, for the first time, the complete Latin writings of Cardinal Newman. This organ is supported by Catholic classicists of the Atlantic seaboard (Miss Margaret Ann Norton, 70 Remsen St., Brooklyn 1, N.Y., Sec'y. Subscription, \$1 yearly).

►PRAY FOR THE COUNCIL. Leaflets containing the Holy Father's "Prayer to the Holy Spirit for the Success of the Ecumenical Council" are obtainable gratis, we are informed, from the Holy Ghost Fathers, 1615 Manchester Lane, N. W., Wash. 11, D.C. (We add, on our own, that it would be appropriate to enclose sufficient postage.)

►MISSION PRESS. We salute the 10th anniversary of the *Institut de Presse Missionnaire*, founded in 1950 under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. It pro-

vides technical and financial assistance to printers and publishers in all parts of the world, particularly Asia and Africa. This work is supported by the donations of its 25,000 members (5, rue Monsieure, Paris 7, France).

►FOR ARMY FOLK. Four-day Institutes on Leadership and Family Life will be conducted for Catholic personnel at 26 Army posts in the United States, Dec. through March. The programs, organized by the Office of the Chief of Chaplains, are coordinated by Msgr. Irving De Blanc, director, NCWC Family Life Bureau.

►MONTHLY GRIST. The 1961 edition of the *Program Manual for Parish Meetings* is now ready and is being distributed to 9,000 groups affiliated with the National Council of Catholic Men. The program aid contains discussion material for ten monthly meetings. For copies write NCCM, 1312 Mass. Ave., N.W., Wash. 5, D.C. (six copies, \$12.50; single copy, \$2.50). **R.A.G.**

# Editorials

## Call to Initiative

PERHAPS NO word is more popular today than responsibility, the subject of the statement issued on November 19 by the Catholic Bishops of the United States. Modern is its use in an absolute sense, without clear indication of the person, judge or tribunal to whom the response must be made. Yet, while we debate this question, events remind us that the accounting is sure to come. "If our future," the bishops say,

is to be worthy of the past, if the fruit of America's promise is not to wither before it has reached full maturity, our present preeminent need is to reaffirm the sense of individual obligation, to place clearly before ourselves the foundation on which personal responsibility rests, to determine the causes of its decay and to seek the means by which it can be revived.

To these stirring words it is impossible not to say "Amen." The day is gone when in one part of our country we can be complacently indifferent to a shocking violation of the elementary rights of even our humblest citizens elsewhere, of our fellow man as a child of God. The day is also gone when we can be indifferent to the immense disparity between our national wealth, rivaled by only a few other privileged nations, and the creeping destitution that afflicts the major part of the human race. Our proximity today to every other human being on the earth, say the bishops,

gives urgency to this twofold need: to maintain one's freedom by using it according to the limits and norms of rightful authority; to use it also according to [man's] social nature and the needs of his fellow man. No man can be neutral in a moral cause. By his creation he is born to be committed to the cause of God. The more difficult the situation the more imperative the need for such a commitment.

The bishops, therefore, sound a clear call to the laity of this country to exercise that individual initiative and total apostolic dedication which express the mission of the Church in the modern world. They require each Catholic to make a "personal engagement" with the social and political communities that surround him, "the result of a free and justified choice of careful thought about himself, his destiny and the world."

Opposed to such a personal commitment is the growth—so constantly commented on today—of the "organizational man," the passion for mere conformity with those around us, especially with those who have achieved a material and earthly success. "Some psychologists," say the bishops, "consider juvenile delinquency as a revolt, just for the sake of rebellion, against a stifling uniformity that fails to challenge the individuality of the student." Such a passion for conformity, in

the materialistic spirit of the day, is all too easy a temptation for those who would like to forget the hardships, humiliations and struggles of their own parents or grandparents, and take refuge in a merely self-centered nationalism.

The bishops remind us that Catholics should be in the forefront in the effort to secure good laws, and thereby bring their personal influence to bear upon their legislatures. While stressing the necessity and many invaluable achievements of the United Nations, they likewise urge that we maintain towards it a critical attitude.

We cannot dispense ourselves from scrupulous inquiry as to the use and disposition of great wealth in this country, and the divisions of responsibility among those who create, manage and dispense it. In the huge series of interlocking organizations—political, economic and cultural—of our day, it is essential, the bishops find, that each should keep its own true character, as was urged by Pope Pius XI, and make its special contribution to the entire body politic. To fulfill such a difficult task requires of each layman a personal dedication, as well as profound study, meditation and prayer, and an ever-growing sense, in the words of Pope Pius XII, of "the most intimate depths of human dignity." This is an immense program, and a challenge to all our colleges, parishes, retreat houses and Catholic lay organizations.

## Aid for the Colleges

THE NATION's largest State is about to face up to a problem which is already acute throughout the United States: the support of higher education. On November 15, the Heald Commission submitted to Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller a multibillion dollar, long-range plan to expand higher education in New York State.

The heart of the financial problem for colleges and universities today was succinctly stated by Rev. Paul C. Reinert, S.J., president of St. Louis University, on October 6. Today, he said, "no university, neither the tax-supported nor the private institution, can achieve its objectives if the cost of the process must be borne by the individual student alone."

Where will the support come from, then? Private sources already contribute much, but should give more. Among all groups in society, according to Fr. Reinert, only big corporations are by and large fulfilling their obligations toward higher education. "But," he said, "this same sense of responsibility has not penetrated to many other important segments of society—medium-sized and smaller business firms, labor organizations, professional groups who have funds at their disposal, many individual citizens of means."

Private aid, however, will not be enough. As the president of the University of Illinois, Dr. David D. Henry, said on October 29, private colleges must receive some form of public support to insure a first-rate system of higher learning.

That suggestion raises the possibility of a conflict



which only the American people can resolve. At the meeting of the American Council on Education in October, Dr. Everett Case, president of Colgate University, took note of a prediction that higher education costs would rise during the next decade from their present \$3 billion to \$10 billion. This rise in costs, he said, threatens "a new rift between the so-called independent and the tax-supported institutions."

A Catholic educator, Rev. Robert J. Henle, S.J., academic vice president of St. Louis University, commented that there is "no longer any argument" about whether higher education should receive Federal aid. The colleges already receive a lot of Federal money and could use more. "What we all really want," Fr. Henle remarked, "is for Federal funds to be disbursed evenly, without regard to whether a school is State-supported or not."

In view of the campaign promises recently made by both Presidential candidates, we may hope for increased aid to the colleges from the Federal Government. Yet the burden of expanding higher educational facilities will fall primarily on the several States. In assuming this burden, the Heald Commission report may serve all the States as a model.

If New York follows the recommendations of the report, the State will not only give heavy support to public institutions of higher learning, but will also provide "direct aid" to private institutions. Such aid would be limited to "an aggregate payment not in excess of 10 per cent of teaching expenditures in private colleges and universities." The Commission explicitly intends to include church-related schools in the program, with a caution that "views as to its potential constitutionality are speculative."

It seems to us that the people of every State have a decisive choice to make. They must act soon through their State governments to provide adequate facilities to educate the rapidly increasing number of college students. But will they channel the millions of dollars of appropriations into State institutions alone? Or will they insist that the people's money be used also (at a considerable net saving to the people) to preserve and improve the private colleges and universities? The future pattern of American higher education will be determined in large part by the choice which the people make in this decade.

The constitutional question, delicate though it may be, is not the crucial element of the decision to aid the private and even church-related colleges. Legal methods of aid can be found which will satisfy constitutional requirements; State constitutions can be revised, if necessary. The one truly essential factor in the decision to include private higher education in any program of public aid is a strong popular desire to do it.

In the absence of such a desire, the American people will commit themselves, consciously or unconsciously, to the proposition that Everyman's Alma Mater should be State College. In a period of rapidly rising costs, the private colleges are losing their ability to compete successfully for first-rate faculty and other resources. Some highly-endowed private universities will always

flourish, of course. But unless they wish to see the private college as we have known it dwindle into an insignificant part of the American educational structure, the people of the nation and of the several States must decide now on positive action to keep the private schools alive and fully competitive in the field of higher education.

## A Voice From Berlin

THIS COUNTRY was recently host to a distinguished German Protestant churchman who carried an urgent message to all Americans, of whatever faith. Dr. Otto Dibelius, 80 years of age, retiring soon as Lutheran Bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, is well known as an able and outspoken foe of the Communists who rule the major part of his diocese. Though residing in the free atmosphere of West Berlin, he preaches regularly in the Red-controlled East sector of that city. From his pulpit there, in the famed Marienkirche, he has thundered without fear against the Communists and their war on religion. The authorities have not dared lay a finger on his person. Prohibited from setting foot in East Germany proper, Dr. Dibelius, with his commanding and magnetic personality, permeates the whole "Zone," inspiring the sorely tried souls whose only strength is their trust in the power of God.

The great issue in Communist East Germany, as the visiting clergyman told his audiences in the United States, is the struggle of belief against unbelief. The regime is warring on God and on conscience. Bishop Dibelius is frank in admitting that the balance, humanly speaking, is unfavorable to the cause of belief. The inroads of Communist indoctrination among the youth are particularly discouraging. In one city of 25,000 inhabitants near Berlin, there used to be over three hundred boys and girls who each year would receive the customary confirmation at the age of 14. Last year, according to the Bishop, there were only three. The rest went through the "Youth Consecration," a blasphemous parody of confirmation invented by the Communists. Significantly, one of the official gifts presented on this occasion is a book, *From the Outer World to This World*, subtitled "a guide to atheism," a scurrilous catechism on the "superstition" of religion.

Bishop Dibelius does not share the illusion of many who regard the "Youth Consecration" as nothing more, in most cases, than a pure formality to be gone through perfunctorily. This ceremony, he holds, cannot be separated from the rest of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The totalitarian state, he points out from personal experience with the Nazis as well as the Reds, controls its people in all details of their life—where they live, where they play, whether they eat meat and whether they go to school. All needs, material and human, are subordinated to the state's will. Everything is directed to achieving the goal of the system. The "Youth Consecration," therefore, is not a trifling bit of ceremony, but an integral and logical and even necessary part of a larger program. It is, in short, not only a particularly



revolting incidental affair, but it crowns and typifies the godless character of the materialist society which the Communists are trying to establish for good and all in East Germany.

We have here an authoritative and dramatic formulation of the spiritual issues at stake. It puts the problem of Berlin in a perspective not usually presented in the daily press. For if Berlin succumbs to Moscow's steady pressure and slides into oblivion behind the Iron Curtain, the last foothold of belief will be lost to the free world. The consequences even in the political order will be immediate and direct. Bishop Dibelius stressed in the talks he gave to American audiences that he is not concerned with politics, but he nevertheless predicted that if the Communists take over Berlin, all Germany will soon undergo the same fate. And in ten years, he feared, all Europe would be lost to communism and atheism.

It is difficult to say whether Bishop Dibelius is more valuable as a bulwark to his suffering coreligionists in East Germany or as a tocsin for the rest of us in the free world. In either event, he has called for Christians of all allegiances to close ranks against their common danger. The time is past, he warns, for Catholics and Protestants to indulge in the costly luxury of interconfessional controversy. He himself sets the example in Germany by his cordial relations with the Catholics of Berlin and with his Catholic counterpart, Julius Cardinal Döpfner, Bishop of Berlin.

There are other Berlins—and other men like Dibelius—elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain. For them, the Lutheran Bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg also speaks. The night cometh, perhaps, when no man can see. Yet the hope remains that the love of parents and the power of God, weak as these forces may appear to those without faith, will yet prevail against the proud power and hellish hate on which the Communist system is grounded.

## The Inner Fortress

MORE YEARS ago than seems believable, we embarked on a modest crusade to prod publishers of paperbacks into a realization that the lurid covers on their books were not merely in bad taste but were also a form of social and moral infection. In the heat of that campaign, representatives of every one of the publishing houses concerned came to our editorial offices to talk the matter over. One of the standard defenses they offered was that lurid covers didn't "do anybody any harm." By that pat phrase they meant that it would be very hard, if not impossible, to prove that anyone who had feasted his eyes on the sexy, sensational covers had been prompted to drop his perusal and go out and commit a sex crime.

One of the publishers was Jewish. When the editor with whom he was talking stated that it was good psychology (as well as standard moral teaching) to hold that one can commit an antisocial act (as well as sin) without moving a muscle, the publisher was uncon-

vinced. "Well," said the editor, "let me give you an example. Suppose that while I sat here, smiling sweetly at you, I was simply rioting interiorly in thoughts that the Jews under Hitler got exactly what they deserved. Wouldn't that be wrong? Wouldn't that be antisocial?" "Oh, yes," promptly replied the publisher, and with feeling. "Well," the editor followed up, "that's what we believe about the effect of sexy, sensational art work. In dwelling on it one can do wrong, be antisocial, actually sin, without ever going on to commit some overt act." "You know," pondered the publisher, "I never really thought of that."

And apparently many who oppose any and all censorship have never thought about it, either. Their constant insistence is that objectionable material in books and films must at the very least present a "clear and present danger" that it will result in overt acts before it can be condemned as socially dangerous.

Happily, there are signs that the pendulum is swinging to the other sector. In a recent article ("I'm Sick of Being Shocked," *This Week* magazine, November 20), the distinguished social scientist Margaret Mead protests vigorously against the insidious work of our mass media in shaping attitudes of mind which are of themselves, apart from the overt act that may or may not follow, antisocial.

What few people seem to realize is how much our children learn about expressing themselves from TV, radio, movies and books. . . . [But] we are showing our youngsters exactly the opposite of what we want them to imitate. We are showing them men who brutally attack others when angry. We show people who murder because of hatred or expediency. We show that love is expressed only by hunger for another's body.

The recently more acceptable opinion that attitudes of mind can be as antisocial as the overt act is cogently stated in James Jackson Kilpatrick's *The Smut Peddlers* (Doubleday), pp. 288-89:

I believe some of the literati are guilty of exaggeration . . . in their bland and hoity-toity certainty that obscene materials really cause no social damage. . . . I am persuaded that long subjection to obscene matter *can* have a profound influence on sexual attitudes and social behavior. . . . What is involved is a slow rotting of the social fabric.

It is perhaps an impossible task to set up legal machinery that will properly protect this inner fortress of mental attitudes, but for the "literati" to claim that what goes on within that fortress is a purely personal matter with no social implications has always seemed to us the height of unreality. After all, the outbursts of racial prejudice and hatred we are sadly witnessing in Louisiana have become overt acts because minds have been warped over the years. No Negro has ever been lynched, no Jew ever trundled into the gas chamber, no Catholic labeled unfit for public office, without there first having been a seed of thought from which the bitter fruit burst. And the man who harbored the thought was no less a recreant citizen than he who knotted the noose, turned the jet or spread the libel.

# The Culture Explosion

C. J. McNaspy

IT WAS REASSURING during the recent Presidential campaign to find both candidates stoutly in favor of "deeper and wider education, and the intellectual curiosity in which culture flourishes." These are Mr. Kennedy's words, but Mr. Nixon said much the same. A Secretary of Culture? No, replied our next President. Such a department "might even stultify the arts, if wrongly administered. We have more than enough conformity now." It was clear that America's new frontiers had room for the free, vigorous expansion of culture.

What seems significant here is not precisely what Mr. Kennedy stated, nor even his courage in quoting T. S. Eliot's poetry during a campaign speech, nor his eggheadish preference for Moussorgsky and Berlioz—a riskier choice than Mr. Nixon's choice of "Oklahoma!" and "Swan Lake." It is rather that both candidates should have had to submit to a cultural inquisition at all. Did General de Gaulle? Fearlessly, Mr. Kennedy's advisers did not stop there. A "Committee of Arts, Letters & Science for Kennedy for President" unabashedly brandished the most formidable list of intellectuals (from Aaron Copland to Thornton Wilder) in an open plea "to those who have not decided." Clearly, the eggheads now have it. After exhausting the "religious issue," political analysts should peer into the "cultural issue."

I have just read or reread some dozen recent books on culture in America. Most of them are unflattering, self-deflation being a national pastime. Now made acutely aware of our deficiencies as a society, we are, it seems, hideously and variously wasteful; alienated, over-organized, lonely, other-directed; victimized by power elites and all manner of pacifiers and hidden persuaders; in a word, a lot of ugly, status-seeking, vulgar operators. This iconoclastic list could be endlessly prolonged, but with the title of one book at least we can hardly take exception: Eric Larrabee is surely safe when calling us *The Self-Conscious Society*.

This self-consciousness takes many shapes. In the campaign, however, it became increasingly alembicated into one simple essence—how was our *prestige* coming along? What was our *image* abroad? In a word, the question was *culture*—culture taken in the broad an-

thropological sense, but not excluding the popular meaning of education, fine arts, and what are generally called the "higher" things.

It would come as a shock to many of Mr. Casey Stengel's devotees to learn that in 1959 more than twice as many people viewed the art shown in New York's Metropolitan Museum as that performed in Yankee Stadium. The score, to be precise, was 3,947,365 to 1,552,030 in favor of the Metropolitan. In defense of our "national sport" one may point out that baseball has a shorter season than painting, that baseball isn't the only professional sport, that statistics can prove anything (almost). In rebuttal, the protagonists of indoor culture may add to their score the 568,744 who paid to enter the Museum of Modern Art, the 2,356,221 who visited the Museum of Natural History, the 435,943 viewers of the Brooklyn Art Museum (obviously after the Dodgers' departure), and some ten million visitors to other museums in New York. True, not all are "art" museums, but all are "cultural."

Dropping idle and odious comparisons (besides, athletics and the fine arts are not incompatible), we note that the enormous number of museum visitors in New York is not a local phenomenon. Chicago's Art Institute reports 1,093,958 viewers in 1959, with 4,306,528 visitors to other municipal museums. The Smithsonian Institution in Washington had 6,662,126 visitors that year, and the National Gallery 961,883. In the West, Los Angeles reports 916,996 viewers in its County Museum, and the California Academy of Sciences, in San Francisco, 2,405,270.

Philadelphia's Franklin Institute numbered 410,443 visitors; Detroit's Art Museum 963,391; Boston's Museum of Fine Arts (not including the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum or the Fogg Museum) 485,961 (with a paying, supporting membership of 9,153). The South now boasts several impressive museums. Among them, Houston's Museum of Fine Arts in the same year numbered 172,809 viewers. In these and other museums that I have visited in various parts of the country, the average is always roughly proportionate to population.

It is interesting to find that viewers in American museums are not outnumbered abroad, where American tourists do more than their part to swell attendance. The venerable Louvre reports 1,671,000 (Americans included) visitors in one year, less than half the number attending the Metropolitan in New York. The British Museum reports 752,826, less than Detroit. Amsterdam's celebrated Rijksmuseum had 490,426, far less than the Museum of Modern Art. In 1958 the world-famed museum

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of The Hague entertained 148,145 visitors, less than Houston.

Another noteworthy fact about our American museums is the steady, often spectacular increase in popular attendance. With few exceptions (such as during the temporary closing of the Museum of Modern Art, caused by fire in 1958), each of the museums studied shows continuous growth. In 1956, for example, the museums of New York registered 12,281,602, and the following year 13,190,033. The Metropolitan attendance grew from 1,326,955 in 1939 to 3,947,365 last year—an increase of almost 300 per cent. In 1924 the Houston museum had 33,959 viewers; last year, 172,809—a truly Texan boom of more than 500 per cent. (I am grateful to all the curators who helped me assemble this information.)

The quality of our museums is almost as striking as their quantity. Eloise Spaeth's new book on *American Art Museums and Galleries* studies 84 important museums from Ogunquit, Maine, to Phoenix, Arizona, and 125 galleries (she had to choose, since there are over 300 in New York alone). To those who know their painting from books it may be surprising to discover that many world masterpieces are not in Europe but here. The Gainsborough *Blue Boy* is in California, the Brueghel *Wedding Dance* (the best-known version) in Detroit, El Greco's *Assumption* in Chicago. The richest collection of French impressionists is in Baltimore, not Paris; that of Vermeers in Washington and New York's Frick Gallery, not Amsterdam.

CONCERT music's growth in popularity has been so spectacular in the last generation that it is hard to give a fair sketch in a few words. While in 1920 there were not a hundred symphony orchestras in the United States, today there are 1,142, more than half the world's total, and 35 million concert-goers. Today just about everyone has a collection of "classical" records or has a friend who does. Such music is now available on radio almost all day and night in and near large cities. In fact, it has become almost as hard to escape being engulfed by Wagner or Brahms as by "rockabilly." The hi-fi industry is a multi billion-dollar one, and always growing.

The theatre, despite heralds of doom, shows signs of a vitality hardly matched in our history—and seldom perhaps in anyone's history. The American Theatre Society's subscription list alone has grown from 84,000 ten years ago to 116,332 this year. Alice Griffin shows that there are some five thousand theatres in the country today, with vigorous regional performing groups at a high professional level. "Gone," she says, "are the days of the militantly amateur group which performed to entertain its members rather than its audience."

"Nowadays nobody reads any more," is a common lament. Facts taken from the 1961 edition of the *American Library and Book Trade Annual* suggest the opposite. Not counting high school libraries, we find presently in the United States 12,852 libraries (7,257 public, with 3,566 branches, and 1,948 college libraries). The

public library circulation for 1956 (the latest date available) was 489,520,000. Presumably, some of these books were read after being withdrawn. The number of new books printed in 1920 was 5,101; in 1958 it had doubled to 11,012. *Publishers' Weekly* for June, 1959, showed that the average per capita American expenditure for books was \$7.00 for that year. *U. S. Income and Output* showed the following growth in annual expenditure for 1950 and 1957: books, \$677 million to \$1.026 billion; magazines and newspapers, \$1.47 billion to \$2.71 billion. If nobody reads today, a great deal of money is being spent on nothing.

These are a few of the facts regarding America's "culture consumption." While they need to be interpreted and appraised, they cannot be gainsaid or simply bypassed. Why then are our critics of culture so unhappy? Why does almost every week bring again the hue and cry of alarm? What is there to be said against the indisputable data of this cultural explosion?

The general objection is a real or imaginary application of Gresham's Law to culture. This law, it will be remembered, states that bad money will drive out good money. It is the law of debasement through dispersion. The renowned historian Rostovtzeff puts it well and has often been quoted: "Is it possible to extend a higher civilization to the lower classes without debasing its standard and diluting its quality to the vanishing point?" Stanley Edgar Hyman calls it the Law of Raspberry Jam: the wider you spread it the thinner it gets.

Doubtless there has been an increase in America of public contact with the higher culture, but has this brought a decrease of depth and meaningfulness? Is the whole cultural explosion real or just a superficial puff? Is "instant culture," if I may so call it, a genuine or a spurious brew? After Russell Lynes coined his triple cultural criterion—high-brow, low-brow, middle-brow—the statusmongers began providing taste signals. Unsure of oneself, one was now shown just what were the proper reactions and even how to achieve them, not merely to pretend. Visual aids were provided, of course, by *Life* magazine: illustrated charts specifying the proper drinks, hobbies, likes and dislikes to fit the level of "brow" one aspired to.

The problem is not altogether new. In his *Phaedrus* Plato naturally wrestled with it, and so did Aristotle. More recently, De Tocqueville, with the hauteur befitting his class, feared the "tyranny of the majority," while Lord Bryce felt that democracy would lead us to a "self-distrust, a despondency, a disposition to fall into line, to acquiesce in the dominant opinion, to submit thought as well as action to the encompassing power of numbers." Americans, too, have always been concerned, and the booming H. L. Mencken leveled murderous attacks against the "booboisie."

AMONG THE LEADING critics of the "pessimistic school" are Dwight Macdonald, Hannah Arendt, Oscar Handlin and Ernest van den Haag. These and other respected scholars are deeply disquieted at the hollowness discerned in much enthusiasm for culture. Even



more, the "mass media," they feel, are a serious danger, promoting standardization rather than standards, homogenization rather than humanism, passivity not creativity. The power, money and prestige of these media seduce and beguile; men of authentic gifts are lured away and lost to true culture. Mass culture has debased and prostituted class culture, lowering it to the level of entertainment. The mass media do not foster art; they replace it.

It is manifestly impossible to discuss fairly, in a brief summary, this serious position. Let me urge my readers to study the debate on mass culture in the special Spring issue of *Daedalus* (1960), in the symposium edited by Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White, *Mass Culture* (Free Press, 1957), and issues 3, 4 and 5 of *Partisan Review* (1952).

The main source of malaise and the principal critical target today is, of course, television. Now that well over 90 per cent of our American homes possess (or are possessed by) these 50-some million sets, the average instrument is in operation for more than 38½ hours per week (see *Fortune*, December, 1958). It would be hard not to blame TV for our ills.

During the past thirty years, Mack Hanan points out in *The Pacifiers*, the average workweek has been shortened by the number of hours in a whole day. We are now a society of the leisure-stricken. Despite this, if Vance Packard's estimates are accurate, only one American adult in three hundred reads serious books with any regularity, and, again on his word, a recent poll showed that most Americans could not recall reading any kind of book in the past year. Moreover, despite our large investment in book publication, we were greatly surpassed in 1958 by the USSR, Japan, Great Britain and West Germany. It is suggested, if not stated, that TV is both cause and effect. Ennui is never-ending, and we now find people desperately escaping from leisure to new employment, causing the current problem of "moonlighting." Perhaps explicitizing T. S. Eliot's famed bang-and-whimper, Arthur Morgan has predicted: "America will not perish from a bomb. It will perish from boredom."

No one should underestimate the usual vacuity of TV. However, its positive danger, as well as the positive influence of most mass media, seems to have been considerably exaggerated. Joseph T. Klapper's new book, *The Effects of Mass Communication*, torpedoes many gruesome generalizations. Apathy, passivity and a playpen atmosphere seem, on the whole, the real threat. Having personally spent many hundreds of hours in television studios, as well as my normal quota in vigil before the "Happy Screen," I believe myself not insensitive to the problems and limitations of the medium.

The critics do seem oblivious to so much, especially the growing movement of Education Television throughout the nation. In New Orleans, for example, station WYES-TV provides regular programs of instruction, in cooperation with local universities and with a national exchange of select videotapes, in many areas of the liberal arts. In Boston and throughout New England, WGBH-TV and related stations have for several years

carried out an elaborate series of courses in cultural subjects. In addition, they have provided a unique public service in cooperation with the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The museum is completely wired for television and has produced some six hundred live programs, many of which are available on tape for other stations. More than fifty non-commercial educational stations now cover most of our country's highly populated centers.

This may be only one swallow and not yet a true spring, but it does urge us to return to even keel and reflect on some of our blessings. In one of the wisest books I have read on American culture, *God's Country and Mine*, Jacques Barzun reminds us that "what we have undertaken, no other society has tried: we do not suppress half of mankind to refine part of the other half." Without indulging in naive chauvinism of time or space, we can be humbly grateful for unprecedented opportunities. Had we been born at another time, how many of us who criticize mass culture would enjoy sufficient culture to be able to criticize it? In any but our own favored society, could we pass judgment from the Olympian heights?

Athens, it is true, created a high culture and gave us much that is best; but at the time it was for the few, and the few killed Socrates, the critic of culture. Florence could boast its proud moments and monuments; yet how many Medici enjoyed fully the golden fruits of a golden age? What percentage of the masses of Vienna or Salzburg had leisure and freedom to relish Mozart?

And how many contemporaries ever heard Beethoven's late quartets? "Class culture" is fine for the classes, but most of us are the masses.

Granted, the day of the finger-bowl has passed, save for chaplains in a few other-worldly convents. Lordly manners, too, that once characterized (did they really?) a few lords have yielded to unaffected considerateness. While delinquency, adult and juvenile, is always with us, life is notably safer (except for the possibility of complete annihilation) and the human dignity of more people more respected now than ever. Numberless millions of us share patterns of culture formerly enjoyed by a tiny enclave of the privileged. When millions of workers prolong their hours in adult education programs, it would be ungenerous to suggest that this is only conformism and a doltish quest for cultural status symbols. And how can a society that faithfully reads "Peanuts" be altogether philistine?

If we find the TV ratings of Welk and Westerns too high and their quality too low, it may be because we all have been given chances to know better things. Besides, TV sets are still equipped with a button that brings instant, blessed release. And the paperbacks (1,912 new ones last year alone) make the best—from Homer to Hemingway—comfortably available to everyone who still reads. For all its blemishes, the culture explosion can surely serve the good of man.





# China's Ant-Hill Society

Paul K. T. Sih

IN COMMUNIST CHINA there is taking place, through force and fear, the greatest social transformation of our time. Most revolutionary of all is the establishment and enforcement of the commune system, which represents a phase of life hitherto unknown in the history of China, and, indeed, of mankind. This new system, assuming the character of a collectivized, "ant-hill" society, is designed to wreck the moral fiber of the nation and reduce men to the level of animals.

The situation is still fairly recent. The communes were begun in April, 1958. Within a few months, they were established on a nation-wide scale. By the end of September, 1958, about 122 million households were brought together in 26,000 communes. Each commune consists of about 4,600 households—some 20,000 individuals.

What is a commune? A commune is an administrative instrument of Red China's central Government. The political and economic aspects of life are integrated in a single administration, with the Communists controlling the entire structure.

In principle, everybody has to join the commune. The commune owns everything and controls everything. Families must place their private homes, land holdings, livestock, trees and farm tools under communal ownership. Under such a system, family life virtually disappears. Husbands and wives live in separate camps, away from their own children. They are permitted to be together only on a Saturday, once every few weeks. Children below nine years of age are cared for in nurseries and kindergartens. Older children live in school dormitories, and students of high school age are organized into "people's communes" of their own. The entire nation has become a boarding institution. Its duty: labor.

People live and work collectively. They are given three meals daily, a place to live in, plus some token wages, for all the work they do for the regime. They are no longer free to choose their jobs. One may be a peasant today and tomorrow be sent to work in a factory. The daily working schedule is frequently as long as 16 hours.

The most ambitious effort of the communes is the military training of the people. Males from 16 to 40 years of age form the core of the militia force. Men in the

41-50 age bracket are organized into reserves. Teenagers below 16, men above 50 and women are put into logistic service.

In a word, each individual must perform a variety of functions. Every man is a farmer; every man is a factory worker; every man is a slave laborer; every man is a soldier.

A question arises: How can any regime have the boldness to impose such an inhuman system as that of the communes? An answer can be given only if we consider the political, economic and, above all, the cultural aspects of life in Red China.

WE MUST REALIZE that in the political order Red China's leader, Mao Tse-tung, is an exceedingly ambitious man. If there is any difference between Mao and the Soviet Communists, it is that Mao is more ruthless and more adventurous than his Russian counterparts in his determination to communize the world. Throughout all his writings, we find that Mao is an accomplished Machiavellian ruler. He believes in both cunning and power. By these two means he succeeded in dominating mainland China, and he intends to conquer the world with the same process. It was recently reported that Mao had cynically remarked that when Red China is ready to launch an atomic war, he would accept the holocaust as an alternate national policy. Mao reasoned that even if one-half of the Chinese population were killed in an atomic conflict, he would still control 300 million surviving Chinese, enough to dominate world affairs.

This was a serious statement. When Mao made it, he must have based his calculation on the potential strength of the communes. To Mao, the communes are organized to be independent, self-supporting units, like the castles in the feudal age. Each commune is expected to support and defend itself without depending upon outside help.

Another political purpose of the communes is to tighten the control over the people, especially over the national minorities. The case of Tibet gives us a pertinent example. Before the Tibetan uprising, the Dalai Lama still retained a military force of 5,000 men under his control. The Communists could do nothing about it. For this reason, they undertook to enforce the commune system with a view to putting the Tibetan armed forces under Communist control. This gave rise to the recent bloody revolution we have witnessed.

From the economic point of view, the commune system was designed to ease a severe economic crisis,

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though in fact it has only deepened it. The Chinese Communists first won the support of the people through the land reform which began in 1949 and ended in 1953. This was a program of redistributing lands from the landlords to the people. As a result, 20 million landlords and "bad elements" were liquidated. In 1953, cooperative farms were established. Under this cooperative system, peasants who had just recently been given a portion of land as their own were obliged to surrender it and their farm tools to the cooperatives. More than 95 per cent of the peasants were organized into 72,000 cooperatives, yet there grew up among the peasantry a general apathy which caused a marked decrease in agricultural products. Hence the establishment of the communes in April, 1958. More sacrifices from the peasants and tighter controls over the people would, in Mao's view, increase farm production. The communes, therefore, constitute the most effective means of exploiting human resources.

The family in China is the center of all economic, social, cultural and religious activities. Family honor, love and solidarity are cherished above everything else. Fathers and sons, husbands and wives, are supposed to protect one another in all circumstances. Confucius once gave the opinion that sons should be advised not to act against their parents even if the latter had stolen something (*Analects*, Bk. 13, ch. 18, 1-2). Now the reverse is true. Under Communist rule children are encouraged to accuse their parents, even if the parents have done nothing to be charged with. With the institution of the communes there is no more family life and no more family identity. Aged people are no longer respected. They are sent to "happy homes." Hate, not love, is the dominating force of the new order.

IT IS OBVIOUS, then, that political, economic and cultural motives have caused the Red rulers of mainland China to establish the communes. To the question how they actually have functioned, we reply that they have thus far proved a complete failure. This we ascertain from releases of the Communists themselves.

The communes were formally inaugurated by the decisions of the Chinese Communist oligarchy, made at Peitaiho in August, 1958 and now known as the "Peitaiho Resolutions." However, under these regulations, popular resentment and discontent grew to such an extent that the Communist hierarchy had to seek some compromise. Hence a series of modified rules was set forth at another meeting of the Communist rulers, held at Wuhan in November-December, 1958. These new rules are known as the "Wuhan Resolutions." If we examine these two documents—the "Peitaiho Resolutions" and the "Wuhan Resolutions"—we can readily see a retreat from the earlier position. First of all, the "Wuhan Resolutions" ordered cessation of attempts to set up communes in the cities. They also gave permission for certain commune members to cook at home. Certain parents were permitted to live together with their children. Mess halls were to be operated on a more liberal basis. Daily work should not exceed 12 hours. In

a word, the communes returned virtually to the status of the former cooperative farms.

However, this compromise does not mean that the Red regime has had a change of heart. It is only an expedient, a tactical move. The Communists are expert in executing their programs through the alternate use of severity and gentleness. They know just how far and in which direction the people can be pushed, and just when relaxation becomes imperative. As a matter of fact, the Chinese Red leaders have already begun again enforcement of the commune system, as can be seen in the decisions made at a meeting of the Red rulers at Lushan in August, 1959, known as the "Lushan Resolutions." Contradicting what was expressed in the "Wuhan Resolutions," the "Lushan Resolutions" strike at those who criticized the communes and strengthen those who were supporting the system.

To recapitulate: Mao and a small group around him still hold supreme power. How long these men can maintain their power, we do not know. How far the Chinese Communists can go in imposing their commune program, we also do not know. What we do know is this: With more than 95 per cent of the peasants organized into 72,000 cooperatives, the Reds were unable to achieve their objectives. The cooperatives had killed the family spirit. How, then, can they succeed with this new system which aims at an even more radical destruction of the family? In its early revolutionary days, Russia set up communes on a model basis. They were soon abandoned because the Russians disliked the communal way of life. Stalin's forced collectivization of Russian agriculture in the 1930's (far less harsh than the Chinese communes) was achieved only at the cost of more than

ten million Russian lives. The Chinese program of communes is a program much more radical than any cooperative program.

Generally speaking, the Chinese people are not so adventuresome as Westerners. The tenor of Chinese life is philosophical and conciliatory. It is not conciliatory, however, in matters concerning the basic foundations of social and family life. With the imposition of the communes,



the Chinese people have lost both material comfort and emotional security. A Chinese escapee has written:

Fathers and sons do not confide in each other, nor do husband and wife. The people have learned to become double selves: they have an outer, superficial self which conforms to the demands of the Chinese Communists and an inner moral self which must remain hidden. Yet this inner self, this innate sense of justice and goodness in men, must still continue to live and struggle, for I do not believe it can be destroyed (Chow Ching-wen, in *Ten Years of Storm*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1960).

# The South in Retrospect

Stephen P. Ryan

**D**ISTANCE lends enchantment, we are told; and this writer, now permanently living outside the South, after more than twenty years' residence there is, in a certain sense, prepared to believe it. Close contacts with the realities of racial antagonism build up tensions which tend to blind one to the region's virtues; and the South's vicious heat and high humidity make their contribution to the sense of strain under which one not to the manner born seems to labor at all times. Now, living some hundreds of miles north of the "Line," one feels able, for the first time perhaps, to look back on it all in its proper perspective.

To begin, one realizes that one's opinion of the South has too frequently been based on one's opinions of a Faubus, an Eastland, a Herman Talmadge, an Earl Long and a William Rainach. This is an old error, this damning of the many for the sins of the few; it has its parallels in the areas of anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, anti-Irish, anti-British prejudice. And so one comes at last to a recognition that for a Faubus there is a LeRoy Collins, for an Eastland there is a Kefauver, for a Willie Rainach there is a Ralph McGill. At other levels, too, there are good men and women in every Southern State who are gentle, kindly, intelligent and willing to accept the inevitability of change. Here lies one of the basic tragedies of the South: that what the writer now concedes to be a considerable body of decent opinion (he had once denied this) has been intimidated and pressured into conformity by the unscrupulous tactics of a handful of political opportunists and rabble rousers.

Again, sadness rather than anger comes to the fore as one faces that most difficult of all barriers—the rock on which the non-Southerner is most likely to founder—the great Southern myth: the myth of a gracious, mannered (and mannerly) society, a society aristocratic and cultured to the core, a society rooted in tradition, a society in which honor and the simpler virtues played the leading roles. Sadness rather than anger, because such a society simply never existed in the South, except among a handful of plantation families. This great Southern myth, believed in as gospel by almost all Southerners, was exploded once and for all by W. J. Cash some decades ago in his *Mind of the South*.

One must, at the same time, appreciate the reasons for the myth's existence: compensation for the wounds and hurts of a proud and defeated people; a crutch on

which to walk in a world which had shown little sympathy or understanding; "proof" that the Southern white man was culturally and traditionally superior to the newly freed Negro. Still, it is a tragedy that the South persists in the perpetuation of this myth which never had any basis in fact.

There are many agencies and individuals at work within the South to dispel the myth: an influx of workers from other regions who are participating in the rapidly growing Southern industrial expansion; greater contact, through the entertainment media, with the rest of the United States and its thinking; the tendency of more and more Southerners to visit outside the area; a better educated people—to name but a few.

Southern writers have themselves done a great deal to make the South see itself in realistic terms. William Faulkner is an excellent example of the regional novelist who acknowledges sentimental ties to an older South of myth and legend but has, at the same time, had the courage to come to terms with the facts of contemporary life; and much the same approach is observable in the work of Flannery O'Connor and Robert Penn Warren.

**T**HE INFLUENCE of the churches upon the present-day South is healthy and salutary. With the exception of the Southern Baptists and some of the more flamboyant backwoods splinter sects, Southern Protestantism has shown a decided leaning toward tolerance, racial justice and willingness to come to grips with the social problem. In the few areas where it has sufficient strength, the Catholic Church has shown excellent qualities of leadership. For example, the Diocese of Miami, Florida, has decided to open its high schools to all Negroes who meet the required scholastic qualifications. And within the past few months the Archbishop of New Orleans, an outspoken foe of segregation, has called for a day of prayer, and more recently for daily public prayer, for the successful desegregation of schools.

More than this, priests and nuns throughout the South are becoming increasingly aware of the necessity for making known the social teachings of the Church. It was heartening to hear so many priests, meeting at the regional Young Christian Student sessions at St. Bernard's College, in Cullman, Alabama, last summer, stressing the part Catholic young people should take in the social apostolate; and it was equally heartening to note the enthusiastic response of the high school students present to what was proposed.

Distance from the scene of battle just possibly has

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influenced the writer to reconsider the position of the Negro in the South. Two things now stand out with singular clarity: 1) older Negro leadership (such men as Martin Luther King excepted) has not been remarkable for either intelligence or enthusiasm; and 2) a new generation of Negroes is in the process of bringing into being a forceful, challenging leadership which bodes well for the future. The failure of the older generations is not hard to understand. It goes deep into Southern history and custom: the Negro's lack of opportunity for self-expression on the broad community level; the demands of economics, which made it necessary to play a "safe and sane" game in order to survive; and the low educational level of the group as a whole.

**T**HIS is changing in today's South. The one major significance of the successful sit-ins (and one feels that much of the commentary missed this) is that the movement heralded the rise of a new generation of Negroes—a generation which will not accept the compromises of the past, which will not "stay in its place," which "has had it" as far as compliant acceptance of traditional segregated patterns is concerned. This all far transcends the relatively unimportant local victories by which some Negroes may now enjoy an "integrated hamburger" at a dime-store lunch counter. The young Southern Negro who took part in the demonstrations is willing to take chances; he suffers from few of the inhibitions which handcuffed his elders; and he has won the grudging respect of his white neighbors. Above all he handled himself well; it was worthy of note that the only violent demonstrations at the lunch counters were made by young white "toughs," egged on, one supposes, by their elders.

The hard core of resistance to social change in the South is being strangled in a tightening noose of compliance. This last-ditch stand is now, one can safely say, largely confined to six States: South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida and Louisiana. Many would add Arkansas as a seventh State because of Faubus' strong race for the gubernatorial nomination, which he won in a breeze; but there has been *some* progress in Arkansas—at least the line has been held, and there continues to be an integrated situation in Little Rock Central High School.

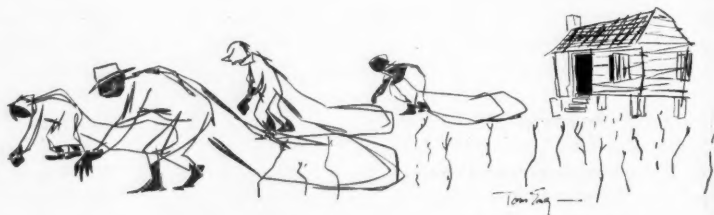
Elsewhere in the South, progress has been admittedly spotty. What does seem significant, however, is that in most Southern States the principle of integration in the schools has been accepted as an annoying necessity, if nothing more. So-called "massive resistance" proved an unworkable solution in Virginia; and more and more Southerners are coming to the realization that the closing of the public schools (and the State-wide institution of a private school network) is a financial and educational gamble which promises nothing but undesirable results. The pupil placement schemes have but to make one false step, in which the courts can determine that

placement was decided on the basis of race, to run into real trouble. So too the maneuver whereby Gov. Jimmie Davis tried to take over the New Orleans school system by legislative action failed the segregationists.

What will be the future of school integration in the South? The border States—Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia, Delaware and Maryland—are nearing complete compliance with the decrees of the Federal courts. Many school districts in the western two-thirds of Texas have complied; and there is at least token compliance, with an increasing number of partially integrated districts in Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia. A limited degree of integration now seems inevitable in Louisiana and Florida. This leaves four States, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina, where the future seems less bright, and where it is impossible to predict the course of events within the next decade. In Georgia, however, there is a conspicuous liberal element, centered largely in Atlanta, which may some day prevail and bring common sense to that State as well.

The second great regional prejudice of the South is, of course, anti-Catholicism. This was just tested nationally, for the second time in 32 years. Public opinion analysts have noted that anti-Catholic propaganda of a peculiarly virulent nature made its appearance this year much earlier than it did during the Al Smith campaign in 1928. Much of this hate literature naturally enough emanated from the South; yet one had a strong feeling that things were not quite the same as they were 32 years ago. State political leadership in the South, as is now clear, went pretty well down the line for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket.

Beyond and above all this, however, lies a lessened suspicion of Catholics now much in evidence; Southerners, by and large, know more about Catholics and



Catholicism than they did in 1928. Many of the more recent migrants into the region have been Catholics; and the old myth of the "horns and tail" seems destined for inclusion in the pages of regional "folk lore," rather than acceptance as a strangely real fact.

**A** THIRD Southern prejudice centers about the rights of labor and the position of unions. Traditionally, the South has been the most conservative region in the country on the labor front, the region where opposition to organized labor has been almost a part of the Southern way of life. Right-to-work laws, for example, are on the statute books of many Southern States; but in this



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period in our history there is little to set the South apart from the rest of the nation in its thinking on labor issues. Senate investigations, the misbehavior of many labor leaders and the rising cost of living have combined to produce a nation-wide suspicion of the labor movement, in which the South stands with the other regions.

If in this article the author would seem to give an impression that all is sweetness and light on the Southern scene, let him hasten to state that this is simply not true. As we have just seen dramatically highlighted in New Orleans, there are far too many vicious and irresponsible elements still at large—many of them in high places indeed. What a pity that the region which produced a Jefferson, a Madison, a Calhoun and a Woodrow Wilson, allows a Faubus, an Eastland and a Talmadge to serve as its spokesmen before the world! Many Southern courts still make a mockery of justice: the acquittals in the Charles Mack Parker case may be cited as a rather spectacular example. One thinks also of the senseless dynamitings of houses in Chattanooga, and the mutilations and whippings of many defenseless Negroes in Alabama.

Make no mistake about it; there is still rampant in the South a vicious, violent, obscene tendency toward lawlessness—a tendency toward taking the law into one's own hands, without due process, which is peculiar to the area. For this is, indeed, in more ways than one, "the last frontier." There is nothing quite so much the throw-back to an earlier, ruder day than the coldly calculating figure of your true Southern bigot and racist. Nor is he

to be found only in the backwoods, in the little sawmill towns, or in the rural lands of the Mississippi Delta; he is just as likely to be an urban bank clerk (or bank president) as an Alabama sharecropper; just as likely to be a member of a Louisiana school board as a small-town gas station attendant. His weapons are many and varied: the boycott and the whip; the threat of social ostracism and scurrilous phone calls in the night; the anti-Negro or anti-Catholic pamphlet and the home-made bomb. And when he has the "law" on his side, he is dangerous indeed.

However, one cannot help but feel that change is on the way, and change can only imply change for the better. After a momentary impulse toward a saner South, spurred on by the Supreme Court decisions of May, 1954, the opposition forces of intolerance and hate were given too long a breathing spell, too much time to consolidate their position; and the years from 1955 down to 1960 were grim indeed. Negro-white relations were at a very low ebb; the dialogue between the races seemed to have broken down entirely.

Now, just as it appeared that progress was at an absolute standstill, a turn for the better is definitely in the air. The dialogue between Negro and white has resumed, albeit still on a rather reduced scale; the sit-ins have made their mark; and the Federal courts are holding firm. That "New South" which everyone was talking about a decade ago may yet come into being; and this ex-Southerner watches and prays for it to happen.

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# BOOKS

## Fresh Assessments of the Civil War

**THE WAR FOR THE UNION, II:  
War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863**  
By Allan Nevins. Scribner. 557p. \$7.50

A journey of discovery opens up to even the most expert in American history in this volume whose new material sharpens the conventional picture of the Civil War. Mr. Nevins is objective and judicious in his narration, while his style is concise and forceful. The book clearly outlines the political, military, economic and diplomatic trends of the period, with detailed information supporting conclusions reached in a broad framework. Competent craftsmanship marks its every page.

The first part of the book deals with Lincoln's approach to emancipation. He faced the problem without dogmatism, yet with a firm adherence to principle. His method was tentative and experimental as he tried to be fair to the different interests affected. In this account Lincoln's good sense and courage gain added significance.

Because of his long experience as a biographer, the author is at his best in portraying the characters, not only of Lincoln's Cabinet, but also of numerous politicians and generals. His analyses of McClellan and Halleck are particularly useful. McClellan, aware of military logistics, could organize and inspire, but could not lead an army. Halleck, with the heart of a bookkeeper, could not direct strategy for a vast battle line. What these men lacked in mediocrity, Pope and Burnside, Hooker and Buell supplied. Nor did Grant, Sherman and Thomas take up the slack at this time. Only Farragut had the soul of a warrior, yet he never faced the genius of Lee and Jackson.

Mr. Nevins' knowledge of strategy and tactics serves him well as he describes the Peninsular Campaign, Shiloh, Second Manassas, Antietam and Chancellorsville. These battles come alive again with their heroism and slaughter, their high purpose and stupidity. The political jealousies and divided purpose that disturbed the Northern home-front cast their shadow on the battlefield.

The problem of supplying the Union armies called forth a mighty economic effort from the North and West. The

demand for food and munitions stimulated investment in factory, farm and railroad. The national economy shifted direction from North-South to East-West. But all was not earmarked for war. Financial mechanics forced savings into real economic growth, fuller employment and into the speculative fortunes that revolutionized the U.S. economy.

The American struggle also had an impact in England and France. France was less sympathetic to the Union cause than Britain, perhaps because of the language barrier and the ambitions of Napoleon III. But it is clear that the world of that day owed much to the patient statesmanship of Palmerston, Lord Russell and Charles F. Adams.

The book concludes with a chapter on the part played by the Negroes in the Civil War. It is enlightening and should correct a record long neglected when not garbled.

This book will prove a useful model to all who practice, or aspire to practice, the historian's trade.

FRANCIS J. DONOGHUE

**LEE'S LAST CAMPAIGN**  
By Clifford Dowdey. Little, Brown. 375p. \$6

This book will appeal to anyone interested in a mature introduction to the Civil War, in Robert E. Lee or in the campaign of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. It will equally reward the reader curious about Jeff Davis' success as Chief Executive of the Confederate States, about civil control of armed forces or about the elusive art of generalship. Clifford Dowdey throws light on all of these factors in the 1861-65 struggle by focusing attention upon the campaign wherein Lee fought Grant across Virginia, from the Wilderness to Petersburg, during May and June of 1864.

*Lee's Last Campaign* is different from other works in its field because, for Mr. Dowdey, the narrative of events is not an end in itself. His concern for *what* happened flows from his yearning to discover *why* it happened. In this process he throws revealing light on Lee, on his subordinates, on Grant, on Jefferson Davis, on Beauregard, and on Sheridan—the last three get rough handling.

Dowdey's Lee seems more human than, say, Freeman's, and perhaps for that reason emerges as an even greater man. Since a reader of this book sees the campaign through Lee's own eyes, he senses (perhaps for the first time) the myriad human factors that cluttered Lee's command problem and complicated his every decision. Here, indeed, is a book where each reader rides with Uncle Robert.

Even for the scholarly, Dowdey's bibliographical essay is alone worth the purchase price, if only because it places in perspective our current relative ignorance of a legendary war whose lessons the United Nations may well have to relive. And, as a bonus, there is an indirect but clear reference to the ethical injunction that one must never use more violence than is absolutely necessary. Within the limited context of one campaign Dowdey shows quite soundly how U.S. military policies which ignored that axiom hampered postwar reconstruction. However, he is less vigorous in emphasizing that, if one intends to invoke the no-more-force-than-necessary rule after armed violence begins, he must also apply it rigorously to his own actions during any cold-war preliminary to military hostilities.

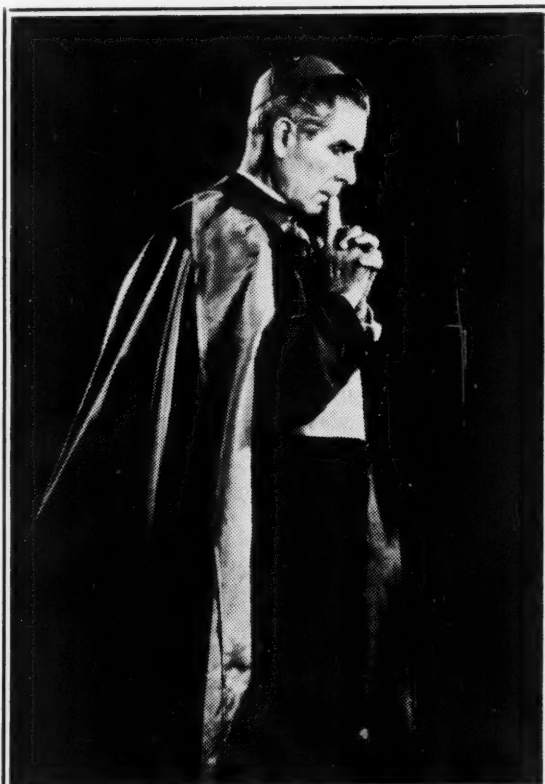
W. H. RUSSELL

## FILMS

1960 may go down in screen history as the year of the bawds. I do not belong to the school of thought that deplores on principle the introduction of prostitutes and other unpleasant facts of life into films. After all, in drama it is frequently necessary to face up to the worst in human nature in order to illuminate virtue and/or regeneration. The story of a prostitute may be about Mary Magdalen. But I do deplore the increasing use of "adult" themes on the screen when nothing is being done to alter the long-established movie-going pattern which admits everyone capable of toddling up to the box office. I would insist that responsibility for this state of affairs does not belong only to the producers and exhibitors but must be shared by the public.

One important fact is usually overlooked by those who view with alarm. There always have been lots of prostitutes on the screen, but they used to be disguised under euphemisms such as "dance-hall girls" and "canteen hostesses." When this stratagem was employed, as it frequently was, to permit the introduction of a deplorable pattern of behavior without the necessity of

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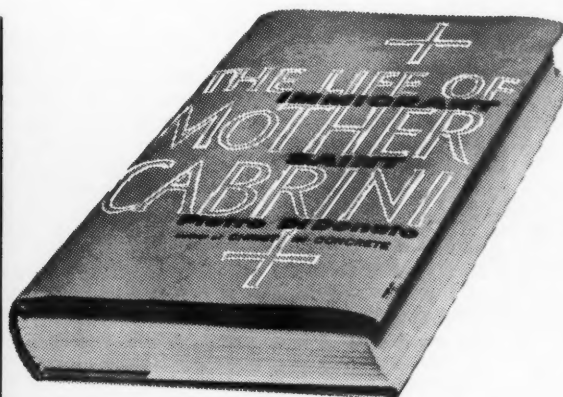
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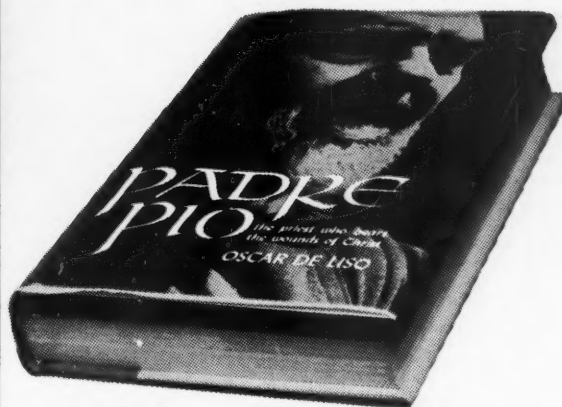


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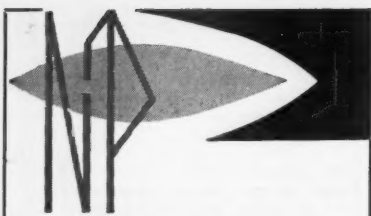
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making a moral judgment on it, the result was certainly as dangerous to impressionable youth as the more forthright but generally more morally perceptive recent treatments.

As a matter of fact, one example of this old-fashioned approach is to be found in a current release, a long-winded and rather asinine parody of an outdoor adventure epic called *North to Alaska* (20th Century-Fox; L of D: A-III), starring John Wayne and Stewart Granger. In line with the new outspokenness, the heroine (Capucine) is more clearly identified as a prostitute than she would have been a few years ago. Even so, she is a charming girl, and no valid moral perspective is established concerning her character and conduct. Ironically, if some system of governmental film classification by age groups, such as exists in almost every country in the world, were adopted in the United States, a picture like *North to Alaska* would probably be labeled "family," although none of the other films in the current cycle would.

The heroine (Elizabeth Taylor) of *Butterfield 8* (MGM) insists that she is not a prostitute. Instead, she has been an enthusiastic amateur wanton since her seduction at the age of 13 by a middle-aged lecher. The point of the picture is her realization that this way of life is self-destructive and literally intolerable. To a certain extent, this message is effectively insisted on. The trouble is that, like all John O'Hara novels so far adapted for the screen, this one, despite a glossy veneer of film-making proficiency, seems entirely too superficial and unreal to have any business plumbing the lower depths of human behavior.

To me the most interesting question is: Why is this film turning into a tremendous box-office hit? There are plenty of obvious and cynical explanations, which seem to me inadequate and at best half true. I would wager that a serious psychological study of audience response to films would uncover some new and startling information and discredit a lot of popular suppositions. [L of D: B]

I must admit that I liked *The World of Suzie Wong* (Paramount). Many observers say it has the very qualities of superficiality and condonation of evil for which I am quick to condemn other films. I can only say that I agree with their judgment in the case of the play, which I thought was simply a morally imperceptive rehash of the "prostitute with the heart of gold" theme. The movie seemed more valid because it was written with more tact and subtly different moral emphasis; because it was

photographed in refugee-packed Hong Kong, which made the economic motivation for prostitution intelligible; because Nancy Kwan's performance made of Suzie a remarkable human being with whom it was believable that the American artist (William Holden) would fall in love despite her sordid occupation. [L of D: B]

I have no room to discuss *Girl of the Night* (Warner) except to say it is a dramatized psychiatric study of a desperate, disenchanted "call girl" (Anne Francis). It is better sociology than drama, but it is scrupulously deglamorized and unsensational in treatment. It is being booked, as it should be, on an "adults only" basis. [L of D: Separate Classification]

G. I. BLUES (Paramount). Elvis Presley, I would imagine, has stored up a considerable reservoir of good will among adults during the last two years, partly because it was so nice to have him off the screen and partly because, all joking aside, he conducted himself during his military career with a level-headedness and dignity that must be admired. That good will is destined to be quickly dissipated, however, unless his movie bosses do better by him than they do with this first post-Army vehicle.

Elvis himself is, to be sure, a changed young man. Gone are the sideburns and pompadour, the unwashed look, the gyrations and the tight blue jeans. His diction still makes the words of rock 'n' roll numbers unintelligible, which may be just as well, but he sings several melodic songs quite engagingly.

Otherwise, however, the film is a throwback, not only to irresponsible early Presley, but also to the irresponsible early talkies. The plot is a thin, asinine, superficially pleasant variation on a stock musical formula, which contains the following unsavory embellishments: 1) a bet that the G.I. hero will succeed in spending the night with the heroine, a nonfraternizing German night-club entertainer (Juliet Prowse); 2) a subplot about another nice, clean-cut G.I., his German sweetheart and their illegitimate baby. Furthermore, Miss Prowse's night-club routines are lurid and underdressed. [L of D: B]

WHERE THE HOT WIND BLOWS (MGM). Joseph E. Levine is a portly, independent film distributor whose chief recent claim to fame is that he grossed an estimated \$12 million from a spectacularly awful, dubbed-into-English Italian film called *Hercules*. Mr. Levine is a practitioner of what is politely

called old-fashioned showmanship. This means, among other things, that he has a low opinion of the taste of American moviegoers. It also means that he has a highly developed flair for promotion, uncanny ability to determine in advance what kind of a bad picture the public can be inveigled into supporting, and willingness to gamble a million dollars on an all-out publicity campaign to achieve his results.

Where the *Hot Wind Blows*, latest dubbed-into-English foreign film to receive the full force of Levine's promotion and distribution techniques, is based on a Prix Goncourt novel called *The Law*, by Roger Gailland. It was scripted and directed by Jules Dassin, whose work is sometimes distinguished.

At first glance, Mr. Levine would appear to have gone high-brow on us. Nothing could be further from the truth, however. The film contains occasional slight indications that it is based on a mordant and perhaps meaningful satire. Mostly, though, it is just a dreary and meaningless catalogue of immoral, illegal and antisocial behavior in a Sicilian fishing village. From its sponsor's point of view, the most important deplorable behavior is that indulged in by the underclad leading lady, Gina Lollobrigida, in haylofts and other such locales.

I freely confess that I do not have Mr. Levine's knack for foretelling audience reaction. I found *Hercules* and this picture equally difficult to sit through.

H. L. Mencken to the contrary, it is quite possible to go broke underestimating the taste of the American public. A great many entrepreneurs have gone broke in recent years because they lacked either Mr. Levine's highly specialized talents or his all-out gambling instinct. It will be interesting, but not necessarily edifying, to find out whether Mr. Levine has in fact come up with another financial winner. [L of D: B]

**THE MAGNIFICENT SEVEN** (*United Artists*) is an interesting near miss. Based quite faithfully, except for a change of locale, on a Japanese movie called *The Seven Samurai*, it is concerned with the plight of a poor Mexican farming village that is robbed and terrorized every year at harvest time by a bandit (Eli Wallach) and his cohorts.

The people of the village finally become convinced that in order to survive they must fight back. They import from across the border seven strangely assorted Western gunmen (Yul Brynner, Steve McQueen, Horst Buchholz, Charles Bronson, Robert Vaughn, Brad Dexter and James Coburn) with a

## Announcing the Incorporation of THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATES OF TOUMLILINE

Toumliline is, of course, the Monastery of Christ the King, located in the Middle Atlas Mountains of Morocco. (See *America* 4/6/57; 8/30/58.) The purpose of the Associates is to take part in an ambitious but plainly necessary plan conceived by Dom Denis Martin, Prior of Toumliline.

The plan is to establish a string of Benedictine monasteries in Africa. As Dom Denis said:

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The plan is already in operation. On May 27, 1960, eight monks from Toumliline created a Benedictine monastery in the interior of the Ivory Coast. The name of the monastery is *Niamien Soule Kro*—The Village Where God is Worshipped. Three other monasteries are to follow. One will be in Upper Volta, the second will be in Dahomey, the third in the Central African Republic.

The plan involves, however, more than the building of monasteries. It involves too the creating of Centers of Human Development. These will take whatever form is dictated by local needs. For example, the monks in the Ivory Coast, at the request of the Minister of Agriculture, are developing an agricultural institute for local farmers. As Dom Denis says:

We believe it is impossible to give an adequate Christian formation to people without elevating their social, economic and cultural life to a point where they can fulfill legitimate human aspirations.

These Centers of Human Development will explore with their African neighbors means to raise their economic and social level. To make these Centers as productive as possible, teams of technicians and experts will be brought in from Europe, America and other parts of Africa. Dom Denis has already organized associations in Germany, Holland and France to recruit these teams and to help finance his entire plan. This September he visited the United States to set up the American Associates.

The American Associates will raise money for Toumliline through annual membership dues and through grants from foundations. The Associates will also sponsor the specialists who will go to Africa to work at the Centers of Human Development.

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strange assortment of reasons for taking on a risky and low-paying job. The bandit is driven off once, but obviously the defeat has been an intolerable humiliation for him and he will return with some new tricks up his sleeve. Whereupon the villagers fall to blaming the gunmen for exposing them to danger; the gunmen begin to think twice about their former altruism; and with long-winded inconclusiveness everyone takes to discussing abstractions such as courage, cowardice and responsibility. When the bandits do return, a lot of people get killed, but everyone behaves better than their recent talk and actions might have led you to expect under the circumstances.

John Sturges, who directed the film, has a very fine pictorial sense. He has not succeeded, however, in stating the script's moral positions either lucidly or in pictorial terms. As a result, they seem like pretentious and undigested afterthoughts rather than an integral part of a handsome outdoor drama in color. [L of D: A-II]

**SURPRISE PACKAGE** (Columbia). In *The Magnificent Seven* Yul Brynner plays a gunman imported into Mexico from the United States to perform a good deed. In *Surprise Package* he plays the contemporary head of a crime syndicate who is deported from the United States to his Greek island birthplace for having performed a long line of very bad deeds.

*Surprise Package* is supposed to be a comedy and is based on Art Buchwald's *A Gift From the Boys*, which, for all I know, may have been very funny. The picture has some funny dialogue and some amusing visual comedy, espe-

cially with a satiric impression of the famous Apalachin crime convention and barbecue. Most of the picture, however, is singularly unfunny.

Heads of crime syndicates are not appropriate subjects for comedy, unless the script remains far away and emotionally detached from them. Harry Kurnitz' script, on the contrary, seems to regard the hero as quite a nice fellow and even arranges a happy ending, complete with semi-legitimate means of livelihood for himself and his girl friend (Mitzi Gaynor). The result is a peculiarly ill-advised romantic comedy made out of the materials of satire. [L of D: B]

MOIRA WALSH

## THEATRE

**INVITATION TO A MARCH**, by Arthur Laurents, has been quartered at the Music Box by the Theatre Guild. The cast, headed by Celeste Holm, includes the dependable veterans Eileen Heckert and Richard Derr, reinforced by such talented juniors as Jane Fonda and James MacArthur. In the settings by William Pitkin and costumes by Lucinda Ballard only a captious eye would look for flaws.

Since the author directed his own play, it can be safely assumed that it reflects his ideas as well as his dramatic intention. In your observer's opinion Mr. Laurents functions better as director than as playwright.

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near, but she falls into a strange sleep-  
ing sickness whenever her betrothed  
approaches her. In one of her slumbers  
she is kissed by a plumber and almost  
immediately becomes sufficiently alert  
to participate in fornication. The ob-  
vious allusion is to the sleeping princess  
of the fairy tale. In the Laurents version  
the girl sleeps to escape the boredom of  
conformity, and the prince is the son  
of an unwed mother who has a free-  
wheeling code of moral values.

The story, however, is less significant  
than its implication: the bastard and  
his mother are good-natured, sensible,  
tolerant, agreeable people to have  
around; the mothers of the girl and her  
fiancé are narrow, selfish and conniv-  
ing. Mr. Laurents seems to equate ad-  
herence to the moral code with stuffiness,  
a position that would be difficult to  
defend if the audience were impolite  
enough to talk back.

**THE UNSINKABLE MOLLY BROWN.**  
One of the passengers who escaped the  
*Titanic* disaster was an American wom-  
an who assumed virtual command of a  
lifeboat and quieted the hysteria of her  
fellow survivors until they were res-  
cued. That was her finest hour, what  
our Oriental friends who believe in fate  
would say was "the hour for which she  
was born." Before that crisis she was a  
colorful and indomitable character, even  
a valorous spirit, but she had devoted  
her valor to comparatively petty ends.  
As played with overwhelming verve by  
Tammy Grimes, however, she invests  
everything she does with vital signifi-  
cance.

In the musical at the Winter Garden  
we first see Molly as a teen-age girl  
living with her father in a shack in the  
back country of Missouri. Nobody thinks  
about money as much as those who are  
terribly poor, Oscar Wilde has told us,  
and it is not astonishing that Molly's  
head was filled with dreams of being  
rich and important. As soon as she was  
old enough to defy her father, she left  
home and became a sort of Orphan  
Annie. She was protected from preda-  
tory males by her hot temper and Cath-  
olic training, rather than by a good dog  
Sandy. Another protection was her will-  
ingness to work with her hands instead  
of exploiting her ample feminine assets.

Molly achieved her first objective, the  
possession of wealth, by marrying a man  
with a special talent for discovering  
fabulous lodes of silver. He adored her  
from the moment she broke a chair over  
his head. He adored her no less after  
she had literally burned up \$300,000 of  
his money, all in cash. She won her  
second objective, social acceptance,

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which was her idea of being important, the hard way after years of effort that bordered on an obsession.

There is an abundance of riotous humor in Molly's story as dramatized by Richard Morris. Meredith Wilson's score is reminiscent of the John Philip Sousa marches that were popular when Molly was assailing the ramparts of Denver society. Mr. Wilson also contributed the lyrics, which range from the rowdy "Belly Up to the Bar" to the pathetic "My Own Brass Bed" and the sentimental "Dolce Far Niente." Dore Scharly gave the production impeccable direction; sets and costumes by Oliver Smith and Miles White provide a nostalgic turn-of-the-century atmosphere. The producers are the Theatre Guild and Dore Scharly, who rate roses for casting Tammy Grimes in the title role.

Miss Grimes takes charge of the production with the authority of Molly taking control of the lifeboat. She lifts the unsinkable Molly from the level of a colorful personality to a plateau of significance. A less robust portrayal of the title character would leave the production a routine rags-to-riches musical comedy. As portrayed by Hurricane Tammy, Molly becomes an authentic item of Americana.

**THE WALL**, a documentary drama by Millard Lampell, based on a novel by John Hersey, ineluctably reminds one of *Anne Frank*. But it is wider in scope and higher in emotional voltage. In *Anne Frank* our interest is centered on a group of Jews hiding from the Nazi terror in the loft of a single building. In *The Wall* the terror encompasses a whole community and lasts three years.

To label *The Wall* a "documentary" play may be misleading, since it is not that in the sense of being a detached and meticulous detailing of events. It is a drama crowded with viable characters and continually exploding in action. The scene is the Jewish section of Warsaw during the German occupation. The story begins shortly after the Nazis began collecting what they considered human waste for their gas chambers and incinerators. Since the Nazis recognized the economic value of Jewish skills and labor, their victims were selected with more guile than cruelty. The old, the infirm and the unemployed were told that they were being "resettled" in a less congested district.

In the Jewish community, meanwhile, life went on—not as usual, but in its usual turbulence and variety. The Jews in the Warsaw ghetto, as described by Mr. Lampell, continued in their habitual ways of living—loving or hating each

other, competing for employment papers, getting married, having babies and hoping that tomorrow would be better than today. If there is a message in the play, it is that no hardship or danger can curb the resilience of the human spirit.

George C. Scott, most recently seen in *Andersonville*, submits a wonderfully mercurial performance as a moral vagabond with a heart of steel. Yvonne Mitchell skillfully blends Amazonian valor with feminine allure. The supporting cast, directed by Morton Da Costa, deserves collective praise.

Howard Bay and Noel Taylor designed the settings and costumes. Kermit Bloomgarden and Billy Rose are the producers, at the Billy Rose Theatre.

**THE 49th COUSIN**, presented at the Ambassador by the Theatre Guild and George Kondolf, is an appealing comedy of Jewish togetherness that exploits Menasha Skulnik's talent as a superlative comic. In the play by Florence Lowe and Caroline Francke, Mr. Skulnik (Isaac Lowe in the playbill) is the father of three marriageable girls. He insists that they remain spinsters until acceptable Jewish bachelors ask for their hands. When one of his daughters falls in love with a low-rated Jew and another wants to marry a Christian, the humorous explosion is terrific.

The setting was designed by Stewart Chaney, and the production was directed by Jack Smight. Their efforts, while commendable, hardly matter. Menasha Skulnik, perhaps the greatest of living comedians, doesn't need their help.

**TENDERLOIN**, presented at the Forty-Sixth Street Theatre by Robert E. Griffith and Harold S. Prince, is another item of Americana contemporary with the career of the unsinkable Molly. The title is a reference to a section of New York City where illegal but open prostitution flourished. The leading character is a Protestant minister who leads a crusade to clean up the district.

The story line, derived from a novel by Samuel Hopkins Adams, is the work of George Abbott and Jerome Weidman. Jerry Brock wrote the music that reflects the mood of a precocious city in an adolescent nation, and the maudlin lyrics were contributed by Sheldon Harnick. This is the same team that gave us *Fiorello*, last season's delectable political comedy. They wrote *Fiorello* straight, however, leaving no doubt that the title character was sponsored by the angels. In *Tenderloin* they are incisive, working both sides of the street.

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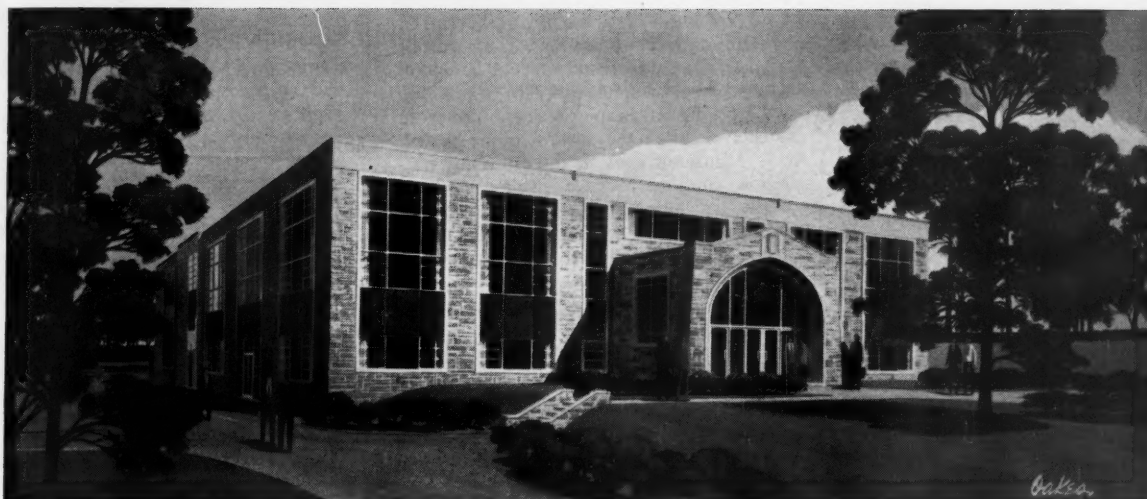
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Maurice Evans, as the crusading parson, confirms his position as a versatile performer and discloses a hitherto unsuspected good singing voice. Ron Husmann, an alumnus of *Fiorello*, handles his acting and singing assignments with skill rarely possessed by a Broadway sophomore.

Sets and costumes were designed by Cecil Beaton. Mr. Abbott directed. Aging theatregoers will welcome *Tenderloin* as a valentine from the New York that used to be.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

## **THE WORD**

*To us sinners also, Your servants, who hope in the abundance of Your mercies, please grant some part and fellowship with Your holy apostles and martyrs: with John, Stephen, Matthias . . . (The prayer, in the Canon, for ourselves).*

The petition which, at this point, the priest and the people at Mass make for themselves is yet another plea for eternal happiness, the theme occurring both at the start and at the end of the prayer. Moreover, the present supplication is marked by a particular sense of lowliness and unworthiness. We speak of ourselves simply and flatly as *sinners*, although earlier the congregation was commended to almighty God as *Your holy people*. (Both descriptions are just.) We modestly ask only for *some part and fellowship* with the saints, who have loved and served God so nobly and who have attained glory beyond all telling. We beg to be admitted into that splendid company, not, however, on any grounds of *our merit*, but solely through God's *free pardon*.

Again we recognize the Church's insistence on the only fitting attitude for the creature as he comes face to face with his Creator in the exalted religious transaction that is sacrifice.

There is an unmistakable parallelism, but without any repetition, between the list of saints here and the similar catalogue before the Consecration. In that earlier commemoration our Lady was mentioned first and separately, and then we read the names of the twelve Apostles (Paul taking the place of Matthias and being mentioned immediately after

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Peter) and twelve martyrs. In the present prayer John the Baptist, who is far more consequential in the Gospels, in the liturgy and in heaven than contemporary piety would suggest, occupies the special lead position. He is followed by seven male apostle-martyrs and seven martyrs of the gentler but no less hardy sex. St. Matthias now receives his due, finding honored place between the protomartyr Stephen and Paul's stalwart companion and occasional antagonist, Barnabas. The appealing feminine names are those of two North African martyrs (if the tradition be sound), two maidens of Sicily and three specially beloved Roman martyrs, the very young Agnes, Cecilia the songbird and the widow Anastasia.

Into this excellent company, which is rounded out by the usual concluding expression, *and with all Your saints*, we ask to be admitted; with these we beg *some part and fellowship*. The hope and prospect is a thrilling one.

Since we know ourselves to be sinners, there can be no question of making our own way into such spiritually sparkling society. For happiness such as this we pray, simply. In the Latin of this message there is an attractive antithesis. We petition God our Lord to be toward us *not the weigher of merit, but the granter of pardon*. The English may not be elegant, but the bold contrast is worth noting. God's justice and mercy are juxtaposed, and we take refuge in the one, since we dare not appeal to the other.

*Nobis quoque peccatoribus (To us sinners also)* are the only words which the celebrant, according to the rubrics, speaks audibly in the Canon of the Mass. It may be considered that during this most holy part of the sacrificial action the priest withdraws, in a sense, into a certain intimacy with the Divine Majesty. As in the olden time, the chosen representative of the people, he who is the appointed mediator between them and their God ascends the holy mountain and, lost in a cloud of unknowing, stands alone—but always for the people, always with God. On the one occasion when he speaks from the cloud, the priest shows that he has not forgotten who or what he is: *To us sinners . . .*

It is frightening for a priest to do what he should, to think and write about the Mass. He begins to glimpse the state and task and holiness to which he is called.

Envy, if you will, the priest in that cloud with God. But pray for him. He is a sinner, too.

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